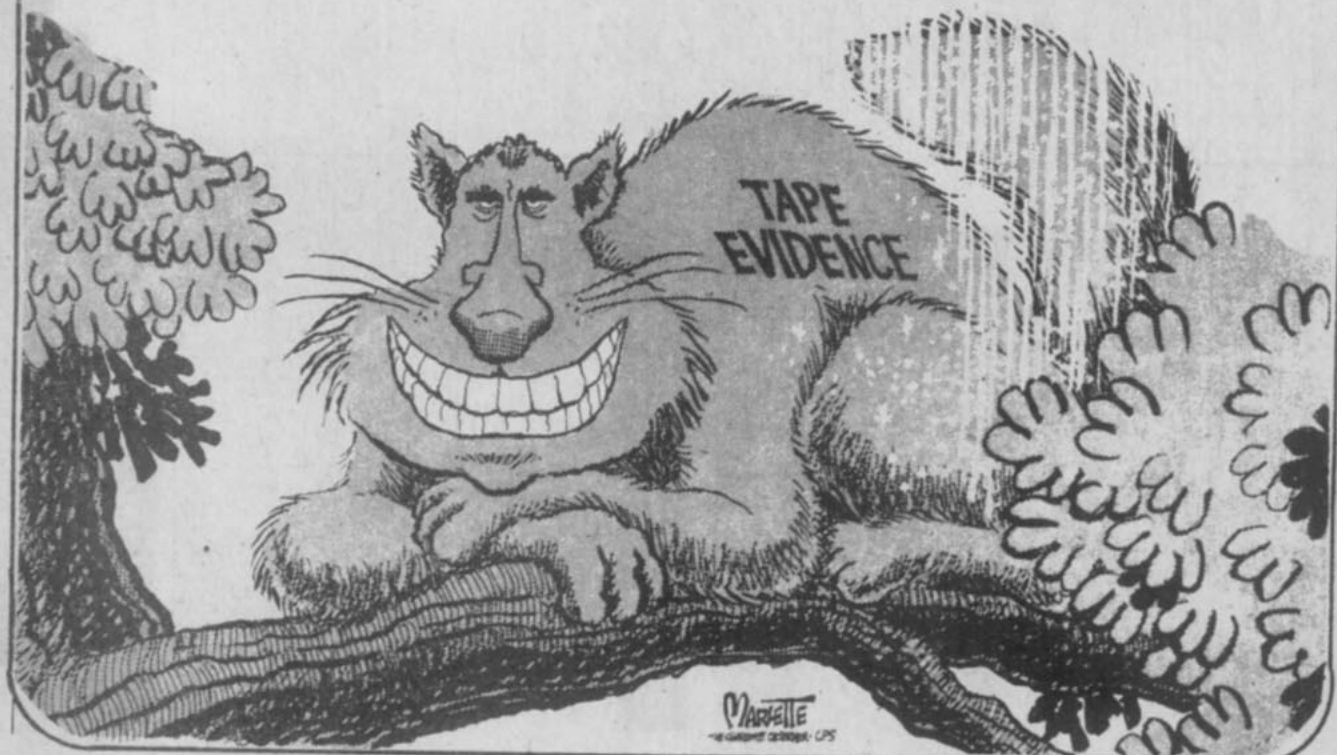


d.c. gazette

THE COMPLEAT BUS SYSTEM

BANKS & THE ENERGY CRISIS



FEBRUARY 1974

50¢

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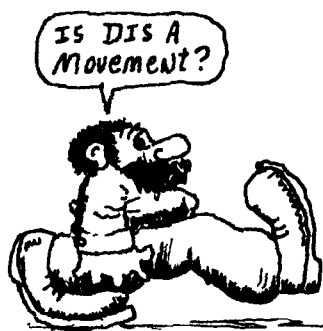
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The compleat bus system

SAM SMITH

I. THE SYSTEM REVEALED

Included with each copy of this issue mailed to local subscribers is the new map of the Metro bus system. At a moment when the nation is increasingly intimidated by intimations of immobility, Gazette subscribers will be among the first to learn where area buses go since the day C&P stopped running that mysterious chart in the yellow pages upon which all routes disappeared without a trace into the binding.

When you combine this map with the new bus atlas available for \$1 from Metro (L'Enfant Plaza, DC 20024) it is conceivable that you will be able to find your way around town on the bus.

It will not, however, be easy. To begin with, Metro has made a number of not insignificant goofs — like losing Routes 38, 96 and 98 partway down the line and obliterating Capitol Hill and downtown Anacostia from the map.

But beyond such errors is the problem that Metro has 465 routes following 114 basic lines. Even with full color reproduction, the rainbow is quickly exhausted and we are left with a system that appears designed by a schizophrenic Gene Davis.

Actually, if you took two Gene Davis paintings, superimposed one upon the other at a 90° angle, you might have the basic plan for a pretty good bus system. Unfortunately, Metrobuses cannot follow such simple north-south, east-west courses. They must chug along a system created like the federal tax laws, a mixture of the archaic, the special favor, the loophole and the ignored need. The buses in the city often hew to patterns whose only justification is that a streetcar once ran on the same streets. Often they jog a block or two left, then three right, then back again, like an amendment tacked on the tax law to please a congressman whose support is crucial. Elsewhere routes are needed but don't exist while in other places scores of routes run over the same streets.

II. THE SYSTEM UNRAVELLED

AS THE MAN says on TV, "Sure, Metro's got problems." And how. The latest projected deficit for the Metrobus system is \$15.5 million for fiscal 1974 (up from the \$3.8 million loss estimated a little over a year ago). At the rate things are going, we can look forward to a \$60 million a year deficit by 1977. To pay for its share of this deficit, DC would have to increase property taxes by 20% or hit the city's 300,000 taxpayers with an average levy of \$200 a year. That's the equivalent of 500 bus fares per taxpayer per year!

Part of Metro's problem is due to the labor intensity of a bus system. For example, on the Downtowner midibus, salaries and fringe benefits account for over 90% of the total operating expenses while fuel and oil amount to only 2%. Thus, even the enormous recent price increases for fuel (up 118% in a year) have added less than 1% to the Metrobus budget. The drivers and maintenance personnel (one garage employee for each 2.7 buses) are the key.

This is especially so since wages and benefits have been mounting rapidly while ridership has remained static. A year ago Metro estimated that the system would earn \$66.1 million in 1974; it now looks as if that figure will be 5% less or about the same amount as the bus system received in 1971 while in private hands.

What is important to the District is that while the city is to be assessed 52% of the deficit there is no evidence to suggest that it is responsible for 52% of the deficit. On the contrary. Going back to 1971 when the system was under four different companies, the buses of DC Transit, operating mainly in the District, were earning \$42,000 a bus per year. Meanwhile the three suburban lines were earning only \$23,000 a bus. Since the average cost of operating a bus today is about \$46,500, it can be readily seen that the old DC Transit routes are not the heart of the problem. In fact, based on bus route revenue (rather than the meaningless bus mileage system used by Metro) the District should be responsible for only about 23% of the total deficit. In other words, the city is being asked to subsidize suburban mass transit to the tune of \$4.5 million this fiscal year.

The currently used bus-mileage formula completely ignores whether a bus is filled or empty. A mile along Benning Road is quite different from a mile deadheading back from Rockville.

To salvage Metro, we must begin by finding out which lines are most productive and which are least — and at what point along a route does service shift to being a heavily subsidized operation. Then we can determine what we want to subsidize, where we want to raise fares and where we want to drop or change routes entirely.

I would suspect that a map of most economical routes would lie largely in the city. We know, using the figures from 1971 when the system was still split up, the three suburban lines would have to have charged a dollar a rider in order to bring their per-bus earnings up to DC Transit's. In any case, it is impossible to plan an efficient and fair bus system until you first know what and whom you are subsidizing.

III. SAVING MONEY

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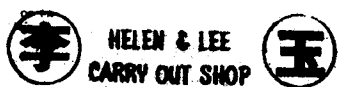
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John Hugg, Cody Pfansteil



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THE DC Gazette is an alternative month-
ly newspaper. We welcome articles, al-
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editor, photographs, and announcements.
Our deadlines are the second Tuesday of
the month for feature articles and the
third Tuesday of the month for ads and
announcements.

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Service.

M 40,92,94,96,98

most productive routes, you then have to
decide what to do with the rest of them.
You have a number of choices:

- You can subsidize them. This is fine
— cut the fare in half or eliminate it —
so long as you know what you are subsidizing.
At the present time, it is impossible to
determine accurately who is being subsidized
and by how much.

- You can raise the fare on some lines.
One simple way of doing this is to use a
zone system based not on mileage but on pas-
senger volume within the zone. Thus if you
were riding one zone in the central city
the fare would be less than to ride one
zone in the outlying suburbs. Since the mid-
dle-class and the poor tend to ride in oppo-
site directions during the same period of
the day (e.g. the bureaucrat is riding in
on Shirley Highway while his maid is on her
way out) it also would be possible to use
a split fare structure not only based on
time but also upon direction.

- You can increase bus speed. You are
paying not for miles covered but for the
driver's time. You therefore want the bus
to take as many people in as short a time
as possible. If every bus in the area
could increase its speed 20%, you theoretic-
ally would very nearly wipe out the Metro-
bus deficit even without any additional rid-
ers, for you would need less buses and less
drivers. Therefore, it is critically impor-
tant to increase bus speed. This can be
done in a number of ways: (a) bus driver
control of traffic signals (this is already
being experimented with here); (b) exclusive
bus lanes; (c) traffic regulations giving
buses priority in turning and passing situa-
tions (buses could be equipped with "Do Not
Pass" lights fore and aft like school buses);
(d) reduce the number of bus stops; and best
of all (e) exclusive bus streets.

- You can change routes. In some cases
a minor alteration of route would take the
bus closer to a new concentration of poten-
tial passengers that has developed since
the route was established.

- You can drop routes. If a justifica-
tion for specific subsidy can not be made,
the route should be dropped. Neither chang-
ing nor dropping routes is politically ap-
pealing, but then neither is a ten percent
increase in property taxes to pay for a lot
of little used routes. Further, it may be
cheaper to subsidize people in areas that
cannot justify bus routes than it is to
subsidize buses. For example, imagine a
bus costing \$46,000 a year to operate that
only carries 20,000 passengers a year, pro-
ducing a revenue of \$8000. The bus loses
\$38,000 a year or \$1.90 a fare — equivalent
to a healthy cab ride. Solution: abandon
the uneconomic portion of the route and
contract with taxis or jitneys to carry
people along the former route.

- You can end duplication of routes.
While there is a shortage of buses in some
parts of the area; there is an excess in
others such as downtown. This duplication
could be greatly reduced.

- You can reduce frequency on certain
routes. At the present time, Metro buses
are supposed to run frequently and on sche-
dule. Often they do neither. But with a sys-
tem of bus traffic priority (bus lanes, traf-
fic control etc.), rigorous schedules would
be more easily achieved. A bus that will
certainly pass a point every fifteen min-
utes is preferable to one that may or may
not come by every nine minutes. With main-
tained schedules based on headways easy to
remember (5, 10, 15, 30 minutes rather than
6, 7, 13, or 22 minutes) and with these
headways posted on bus stops ("40 bus stops
here 6-10 am every 5 minutes beginning 2
minutes after the hour. Stops 10 am-3:30 pm
every ten minutes beginning 2 minutes after
the hour") it would be possible to reduce
frequency on many routes without seriously
inconveniencing riders. Many passengers, in-
fact, might find such a system preferable
to the present game of chance.

- You can use different types of buses.
Metro has ordered 600 new buses — all iden-
tical. But the needs of its routes are not
identical. In some cases small jitneys would
be preferable to buses. Elsewhere long, ar-
ticulated buses carrying twice as many peo-
ple as the standard Metro bus could cut
heavily into per-passenger driver costs.
Doubledacker buses would not only increase
capacity but would be an off-peak hour tour-
ist attraction as well. In other cases, con-
gestion and street width are more important
factors than capacity. There are many bus
routes that beg for something more maneu-
verable than the standard 50-passenger bus.

IV. MAKING MONEY

METRO CONTINUES to be oriented towards
a rush-hour commuter market. This emphasis
just digs its financial hole deeper and
deeper. If Metro successfully encourages
more commuters to ride its buses at rush
hour it has to add more buses, which means
there will be more buses riding around emp-
ty or parked at the garage for half a day.
This phenomenon is even more pronounced on
suburban runs where the split between peak
hour and off hour ridership is greater than
in the city and deadhead runs are longer.

As consultants from London Transport
told Metro, the area has enough buses; they're
just not being used right. When Metro tells
you to ride the bus to work, it may be doing
you and it a disfavor. More people riding
rush hour buses means more buses and more
drivers and still more deficits.

On the other hand, if Metro can figure
a way to get people on the bus during mid-
day and from 6 pm on, it will be moving in
the right direction. There are a number of
ways to do this:

- Reduced fares.
- Two for one fares. These are better
for Metro since they assure the system that
each passenger will pay full fare at least
once. Under this system, riders pay full
fare and receive a ticket good for a return
trip that day.

- Stagger working hours to spread the
rush period load on the buses.

- Tourist-oriented routes and fares.
New York and Philadelphia have "Culture
Loops" that carry people to the major cul-
tural attractions. The Mall sightseeing bus-
es are a step in this direction, but their
image and speed is more directed to sight-
seeing than to getting to the sights in the
most expeditious fashion. Also, it is diffi-
cult to use a bus system in a strange town
if you don't know where it goes. A simpli-
fied tourist bus map showing bus routes to
attractions and hotels should be available
at tourist facilities, in buses, and out-
side landmarks. Finally, exact fare require-
ments, transfer rules and such are confusing
to the stranger. A tourist should be able
to buy a daily or weekly pass good for as
many trips as he or she wishes to take.

- Promoting charter operations. It
makes little sense to subsidize buses being
used inefficiently or not at all. It makes
a lot of sense to subsidize the bus system
by subsidizing operations the city needs.
We are already doing this with student
fares (the student pays 10¢, the city pays

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30¢). The concept could be expanded to provide off-peak hour service in various neighborhoods. For example, the residents of Arthur Capper public housing have no supermarket nearby. For \$34 the city could charter a Metrobus for two hours to take 50 residents of Arthur Capper to the nearest Safeway and back. The city could charge nothing or a portion of the cost to the riders; Metro would make money off the deal, its deficit would be reduced and an important social need would be met. In another example, Georgetown merchants could charter a midi-bus on Saturdays to run back and forth on M Street and Wisconsin Avenue. Or the Department of Human Resources might let go of one of its high paid specialists on the aged and give the aged of the city 1000 hours of free bus transportation annually, tailored to their needs. Metro could design special tours for special groups, such as tours planned for a specific convention in town or it could sponsor special trips to parks on weekend. The possibilities are endless. Already, charter revenue amounts to about 8% of total bus income; it could be increased. The principles to keep in mind are (a) emphasis on off-peak hour use, (b) well-promoted and specially tailored packages for the private market and (c) government subsidies designed not merely to cover deficits but to provide new service at the same time.

• Better informational services. Metro is making a start with its new maps. But it still has a long way to go. For example, the maps do not meet the needs of specific groups. There should be a map that shows the tourist how to get around town; one designed for each neighborhood showing where each bus route through that neighborhood goes; one for large stores and institutions showing bus lines to their location.

Bus stop signs should include, where possible, route maps. This is difficult in some cases because of the number of routes involved. Metro is thinking of using maps at some locations where only one or two maps would be required; but at a minimum, the general route of every bus passing a stop should be listed.

Maps should be also posted on the interior of all buses showing the route of that bus and the general destination of intersecting routes.

Finally, Metro should expend some money and considerable effort to encourage businesses and institutions to include Metro information. The Gazette has urged institutions and businesses to include the names of all nearby Metro routes on their printed material such as advertisements, tickets and letterheads. Metro should put the squeeze on the Board of Trade and government agencies to cooperate.

• A place to sit. At present Metro has on order a measly 200 bus shelters. A thousand would be more like it. A thousand bus shelters would cost as much as 55 buses and would probably do much more to increase ridership. Metro should also provide benches at all other bus stops and encourage large businesses and government agencies to provide their own shelters. There appear to be two major problems with shelters: permits and design. The problem of permits could be alleviated by simplified procedures and the design problem could be ended by

getting the Fine Arts Commission to climb down from its statues and join the people of the city. There are few less aesthetic sights than a horde of cold, wet, unhappy people waiting for a bus. To help pay for the shelters, vending machines should be permitted in them and adjacent shelters should be built for street vendors.

• Advertising. At the present time, exterior advertising on buses is limited to public service announcements. Exterior ads should be permitted, especially since they would be preferable to 1700 buses all warning us with Orwellian intensity that shoplifting is a crime. Advertising should also be permitted on bus shelters.

• A fair shake for the bus system. Metro's prime commitment is to its outlandishly expensive and uneconomic subway system. In order to boost subway revenues, Metro plans to force bus riders onto the subway by relegating buses primarily to feeder service. Metro expects 75% of its subway riders to get to the underground by bus. It has to hope that this is so, because there isn't enough density along the subway routes to justify them otherwise. What this means is a reduction in bus service in the city, with bus lines hostage to the subway and with inadequate parallel surface routes. It also means more people will have to transfer to get where they are going. Bus riders should begin organizing now to make sure the bus system does not become the orphan of the subway. To get people on buses, the buses need to go where people want to go and not where Metro's subway builders want them to go.

• Public policy on cars. The energy crisis is forcing the government to discriminate against the car for the first time. This trend needs to be encouraged by more restrictions on parking and more priority to buses in traffic movement.

• Multi-purpose buses. At a minimum, buses should be equipped with space for packages and shopping bags. The simple installation of hooks on existing buses would make shopping on buses easier. Overhead racks and seats with a shelf underneath would also help. But there are other possibilities. Buses could be designed to double as package carriers and could be used to haul mail and inter-store shipments at night (streetcars used to carry mail in Washington) and packages during the middle of the day. The system could be similar to that used by Greyhound. Each neighborhood could have a package depot. You could call up a store and order an item and have it delivered to your neighborhood for less than the mailing or standard delivery costs.

V. USING THE SYSTEM TODAY

WAITING FOR such improvements to take place will obviously require extreme patience. In the meantime, however, there is no reason not to start using the bus more than you presently do. Here are a few hints:

• Use the free Metro map and buy a bus atlas (\$1 from Metro, L'Enfant Plaza, DC 20024). The maps will look confusing, but if you take a yellow magic marker and trace the routes that are of most impor-

tance to you, it will help it all make sense.

• Learn the bus routes in your neighborhood and where they go. This is basic information as important as where the post office and supermarket are located. Often, memorizing the general route of one or two lines will open up a good part of the city to you. For example, if you live on Capitol Hill, you should know that any of the 30 buses along Pennsylvania Avenue go from Friendship Heights to Barney Circle. That means you can take one bus to the Capitol, Library of Congress, Federal Triangle, downtown, George Washington University, George Washington Hospital, the White House, the bottom of Connecticut Avenue, Georgetown, Cleveland Park, the Washington Cathedral, the big Giant on Wisconsin and Newark, the Circle, Janus, Biograph, Outer Circle and several other movie theaters, Lord & Taylor and Woodies at Friendship Heights. Walk up to East Capitol Street, catch a 40 bus and go through downtown from one end to the other, hit Dupont Circle and Adams-Morgan. That's a lot of ground you can cover on two bus routes.

• Carry a paperback, magazine or tabloid newspaper (like the Gazette). The bus is the greatest place outside of a library to read without being interrupted. Sit near the front of the bus if the motion bothers you.

• Carry a portable radio with earplug.

• Carry a rucksack. If you have to stand, you won't have to hold your gear the whole way.

• Buses during rush hour can be awful. If you travel to work by bus, experiment leaving at different times. Leaving twenty minutes earlier in the morning or leaving twenty minutes later may not only mean a seat, but a shorter trip as well.

• Liberate yourself from time. The bus, in most cases, will take longer. On the other hand, you cannot read while driving. Save that long report you were trying to read with the phone ringing in the office for the quiet bus ride home. Compare your psychological state after a traffic-jammed drive and a bus ride over the same route. You may find leaving the car at home makes you more efficient at work, less uptight all around.

• If you wait at a regular stop, check to see whether the stop two blocks up or down the line is a better location for protection and comfort (a park bench, a wall to sit on etc.). If so use it instead.

• Get a bus schedule for the route you use regularly either from the bus driver or by writing Metro (L'Enfant Plaza, DC 20024). There are schedules for every line and while they are often wrong, they will give you an idea of when you should expect a bus. Learn the time difference between the nearest point listed on the schedule and your bus stop.

• The next time you move, move near a bus stop.

• Next weekend take your small children to the museum or park by bus instead of driving. They'll love it and you may find that they are less likely to raise hell in the bus than in your own car.

• Encourage your older children to

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learn how to get around the city by bus. Help them learn the routes they can use to go to the movies and other attractions.

• Remember that you will be paying for the bus one way or other. DC's share of the Metro bus deficit in fiscal 1974

will be \$27 per taxpayer. Would you rather write out a check for that amount in April or pay for Metro by using it 68 more times next year than you did this?

(Next month: other means of getting around.)

THE MAIL BOX

THE LORTON MASTER PLAN

THE American Civil Liberties Union of the National Capital Area is opposed to the Lorton Master Plan for the following reasons:

• It is now widely accepted that our correctional system is an unreformable failure. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice, in a study commissioned by the U.S. Department of Justice, called upon the states to declare a moratorium on the construction of jails and prisons for ten years without "a thorough attempt to find alternatives. . . ."

The conventional prison, the Commission stated, "is obsolete, cannot be reformed, should not be perpetuated through the false hope of forced 'treatment,' and should be repudiated as useless for any purpose other than locking away persons who are too dangerous to be allowed at large in a free society." For that purpose, the Commission added, "we already have more prison space than we need or will need in the foreseeable future."

• The construction of the Lorton Master Plan will have an especially destructive effect in Washington. The District of Columbia sends an inordinately high percentage of those convicted to prison. A study done by the Committee on Alternatives to Incarceration in September, 1971, under the direction of Blair Ewing, Director of the Office of Criminal Justice Plans and Analysis, revealed that 60.9% of those convicted of felonies were given prison sentences. In Philadelphia, the percentage of those imprisoned after conviction is only 35.3%; in Richmond, it is 30.2%; and in the state of California it is 23.7%. These three jurisdictions made a correspondingly greater use of probation and suspended sentences than we do, and California also employs such alternatives to incarceration as half-way houses and adult residential communities.

It is true that it is the courts that commit individuals to prison, but we suggest that a major reason why the courts do so is because the prison — like Mt. Everest — is there, and there are no alternatives.

• As long as the District of Columbia is forced to pour millions of dollars into the Lorton Master Plan — which epitomizes

the correctional methods that experts have labelled a dismal failure — workable and less costly alternatives to incarceration will never receive serious consideration. Testifying at the Department of Corrections hearings in November, 1972, Kenneth Hardy, then Director of the Corrections Department, stated that alternatives to incarceration might be a good idea, but were not being explored because there was "no money" for them. He then went on to emphasize the necessity for the Lorton Master Plan, and in addition, to urge the construction of a new jail in the District at a cost of \$40 million.

In our view, the matter of corrections is too important to be left in the hands of corrections officials who — however well-meaning — have a vested interest in expanding their operations, and tunnel vision that prevents them from seeing how corrections might be achieved outside the conventional prison.

• We understand that one of the components of the Lorton Master Plan is the construction of a 150-bed prison for women offenders, at a cost of \$35,000 per bed, or more than \$5 million. We agree that the present prison at Alderson, West Virginia is inappropriate for women offenders. Replacing it with a costly prison, part of a huge prison complex, is even more inappropriate.

Women offenders, especially, would benefit by less restrictive treatment than imprisonment. Eighty per cent of women offenders are convicted of non-violent crimes — chiefly drug abuse and prostitution — offenses which many penologists acknowledge ought to be decriminalized.

Moreover, the key element in the successful rehabilitation of both drug abusers and prostitutes is the creation of restoration of the offender's self-esteem. Conventional prisons dehumanize their inmates, thus destroying whatever spark of self-esteem may exist, and so the vicious cycle is perpetuated and re-inforced by prison.

The ACLU realizes that working out the alternatives to incarceration will call for imagination and great patience. We know that the goal cannot be achieved without leadership from the City Council. We hope the City Council will begin now to exercise that leadership by undertaking a thorough exploration of the implications of the Lorton Master Plan with the help of concerned community individuals and groups. That will

OPEN CAUCUS

Once again the political season is upon us. The Gazette intends to jump in with vigor, opinion and prejudice. But unlike certain so-called objective papers, our pages will be open to views counter to our own. We ask only that articles and letters be reasonably well written and of reasonable length. Send to DC Gazette, 109 8th St. NE, DC 20002 by the third Monday of the month for publication in the following month's issue.

be an important first step toward the goal of a constructive, humane, workable corrections policy. We believe that this goal is worth all of the patience, imagination and leadership that must be invested — not only for the millions of dollars saved, but for the saving of thousands of men and women now consigned to the de-humanizing, soul-destroying human warehouses of our prisons.

ACLU of the National Capital Area

I am writing you, in regards to an article in the January 5th issue of the Washington Post. The article dealt with a move made by Mayor Washington to modernize the Lorton Reformatory. The Mayor proposed to modernize Lorton by building three (3) new buildings and some renovation, which will cost about \$45 million and take about three years to complete. In this article, the Post quoted the Mayor as saying,

"Upon completion of these facilities, the District department of Corrections will for the first time in a generation have available modern, decent and secure facilities designed to support a rehabilitative program of education, training and counseling."

At this point, I ask you, who are these facilities being planned for, because three (3) years from now most of the men here will not be here. Are these facilities being planned for your young sons?

The Mayor also spoke of rehabilitation. I can assure you, rehabilitation under the Department of Corrections is a myth. The Department of Corrections all over this country have been a failure. Why? Because the purpose of prisons is not to rehabilitate anyone, but to make money for big businessmen and create employment for the little man. Prisons do not teach enough for anyone to be a doctor, lawyer, engineer, computer operator etc. Prisons don't prepare anyone for today's contemporary society. Prisons are not universities. So what is Mayor Washington saying?

The \$45 million should go into community action programs, such as more stable half-way houses, a complete educational program with Federal City College, Washington Technical Institute and Howard University. The department of Corrections should also establish community action programs with vocational institutes. Education and work-release should be the main factors in rehabilitation. The Washington community has the fa-

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cilities and they are ours because we are a part of that community.
 We are tired of the tokenism programs at Lorton which teach no real skills and waste the taxpayers money.
 We ask that the community press for these community educational programs and not walls and bars.
 Yours in the Struggle,
 RAYMOND BROOKS
 Lorton, Virginia

TOP-COP-HEAVY

THE United States Capitol Police has approximately 1000 men assigned to its police force. They work three shifts per day, seven days a week. Three shifts on the House side, Capitol side, and on the Senate side. Several months ago, the Chief of the Capitol Police convinced the Appropriations Committee that he needed a lot of additional rank to run his police force effectively and efficiently. If all of this is true, how can he justify the following break down in rank distribution:
 a. Deputy Chiefs (2) both working days with Saturdays and Sundays off.
 b. Inspectors (5) all working days with Saturdays and Sundays off.
 c. Captains (11) nine working days, one working swing shift, and one on sick leave. All having Saturdays and Sundays off.
 d. Lieutenants (28) nineteen working days, five working swing shift, and four working midnights. All having various days off.
 Why do the tax payers have to pay for an empire to be built like this?
 A READER

WHY NOT TRAINS?

ON behalf of the National Capital Association for Railroad Travel, I have recently written to officials of Montgomery and Prince Georges counties, and Alexandria urging that the existing railroad network be used by Metro, saving \$1-billion by cutting out the silly business of a parallel network of Metro lines. We have been working, too, with Gov. Marvin Mandel and Md-DOT Secretary Harry Hughes toward the use of the existing bus station near L'Enfant Plaza for commuter train passengers. Further, we think it wasteful to build a Metro line to Friendship International Airport when federally-financed studies call for the use of the Penn Central and the B&O to move passengers from DC-and-Baltimore to Friendship.
 GEORGE FRAIN, Secretary
 National Capital Association for Railroad Travel

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CLINIC FACTS?

IT is unfortunate that you chose to print Judy Ann Cahill's article about the New Woman's Clinic without attempting to verify her "facts" or determine her qualifications for making judgments.
 We have provided abortion and gynecological services for thousands of women, many of whom have told us that they have never been better treated nor so well cared for and cared about.
 We would welcome a visit at any time from anyone on your staff or from any reader or your paper, who would like to make her own judgment.
 TERRY BERESFORD
 Community Relations
 The New Woman's Clinic

THANKS TO WARD SIX

I WOULD like to thank those members of the Democratic Central Committee who voted for me to fill the vacancy in Ward 6, although I didn't get a majority vote because I was not the choice of the "Ward 6 Demo Leadership." But I take pride and thank all the Church, community and labor organizations and just everyday people who supported me.
 I will still remain a servant of the people.
 REV. IMAGE NE STEWART
 Inner City Preacher

CIA TRICKS

IT is urgent that the readers of DC Gazette be apprised of one of the biggest cover-ups in the history of journalism. During the last four weeks the C.I.A. has been up to its neck in the greatest "Dirty Trick" of its sordid history: to establish police-state regimes throughout Western Europe and North America before the end of 1974. The United Kingdom was to have seen the first of these coups d'etats around January 10, but British military intelligence got cold feet, so that the putsch has been delayed for the moment. News leaks of the putsch planning - of which the Heathrow takeover by three tank divisions (!) was a preliminary maneuver - appeared in some of the British press as well as William Buckley, Jr.'s syndicated column. Buck-

ley predictably hailed the move as the most "significant" since the French revolution. The Labor Committees, almost certainly, played a significant role in postponing the coup by exposing CIA-British government insurrectionary activities, including the brainwashing by drug and electrical torture of three of its members, two of them American, the third a British citizen. A suit for an injunction against the CIA is now being heard in Federal court in New York (Southern District).
 An essential aspect of the CIA plot was to foment a "Red Scare" by manipulation of CIA-controlled terrorist groups (e.g., the SAM-missile hoax that was the pretext for the Heathrow takeover). The CIA had hoped to set up the National Caucus of Labor Committees, the leading left group in the U.S., as a pawn in this international putsch-scheme. As of this writing, the thrust of the government's attacks on the organization has shifted to frame-ups and murder attempts directed against leaders of the Revolutionary Youth Movement, a Labor Committee-related organization of pro-working class ghet-youth.
 While the front pages of British newspapers are ablaze with news of CIA agents crawling over England helping the Heath government "eliminate subversives" - i.e., civilian opposition - the Washington Post and the New York Times are silent on these developments, a silence broken only by Times and Post writers churning out "Red Scare" articles for the CIA - such as the recent New York Times front-page filth describing the Labor Committees as a collection of savages led by a psychotic - a set-up for police attack if there ever was one.
 Meanwhile, the Rockefeller faction of the ruling class - who control the CIA - are terrified of the consequences as the truth spreads through Capitol Hill and elsewhere that it was Rockefeller and the CIA who set up the credulous Nixon for Water-gate and impeachment proceedings. Rockefeller's "Critical Choice" for the American people is fascism by 1976. First he must disembowel Congress and the Presidency. Until now he has found ample supply of suckers. But the word is getting out.
 JOE MARQUES
 National Caucus of Labor Committees

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VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

The forgotten house-renter

CARL BERGMAN

LIKE snowflakes, plans for altering DC's property tax laws fall from the sky with no two ever alike: Homestead exemptions, circuit breakers, site valuations, sales ratios, and levels of assessment, etc.

Congressman Tom Rees (D-Calif.), who sponsored property tax reform legislation in the California legislature, would give homeowners a \$3,000 deduction from full market value and figure the tax from there. Renters making less than \$7,000 a year and the elderly would get refunds on their income taxes to make up for paying real estate taxes to their landlords.

The District Government naturally takes the position that reform is a good thing as long as it raises more money. And businessmen don't want to pay anything like what they have been. They prefer to see the tax burden shifted to homeowners.

The city council's hearings on the Rees bill and other proposals haven't helped. The hearings produced few facts and figures for the public. The council, in fact, has only added another layer of thick misunderstanding on top of taxpayer confusion.

The workings of the current tax system are so hidden from the public by the city that such redoubtable defenders of the small homeowner as the Capitol Hill Action Group came out against any homestead exemptions. Perhaps they bought the city's wholly erroneous position that homestead exemptions aid the rich and not the poor.

In order to fully analyze the various proposals it's necessary to compare them to

the current system. Any new proposal should produce both as much revenue and as much tax relief as the current system. The Rees bill comes close, but none of the suggestions is as effective as what we already have.

Under current practice single family residential property owned or rented is taxed at 55 percent of its full market value. Commercial property is taxed at 65 percent. Wheth-

CITY COUNCIL PHONE FREAKS

WHICH city councilman talks the most from his car telephone? Judging from the report in the Senate DC budget hearings it's Tedson Meyers.

Meyers, like several other members of the Council, has a telephone in his car at taxpayer expense. It's one of the perogatives of council membership.

Meyer's bill averages \$66.80 each month. Low man on the phones is Councilman Rockwood Foster whose bill averages \$41.85 per month.

The other member's average monthly bill is:

Moore \$63.19
Tucker 49.18
Nevius 42.45
Robinson 42.45

If you have had trouble reaching council members at the District Building you might try calling them in transit. There is a small toll for each call which must be placed through the Mobile Operator. Dial 0.

The numbers are:

Chairman Nevius: JS2-2909
Vice Chairman Tucker: JK8-3045
Robinson: YR8-2270
Foster: YR7-3323
Moore: JK8-2000
Meyers: JK5-3027

The Council expects to spend a total of \$4,416 this year on the mobile phones. Their use is not restricted to business calls. The report did not include numbers or charges for Councilmembers who joined last year: Park, Ford and Selden.

er by design or practice the system's effect is salutary! It gives substantial tax relief to those who need it the most: homeowners and house renters.

Unlike apartment renters, those owning or leasing a house do not share the burden of the tax with other tenants. And unlike businessmen they cannot pass the tax to anyone. Many homeowners are on fixed incomes; their homes are all they have; and they can't afford to pay the taxes that a rising real estate market creates. Every time one of your neighbors makes a killing in the real estate market your taxes go up because the value of your house goes up. In effect you are paying a tax on an unrealized capital gain. Taxing homes then at a lower rate than other properties takes some of the sting out of this process.

THE DC GAZETTE ON MICROFILM

THE DC Gazette is available on microfilm at Howard University and the Library of Congress in DC; at the Enoch Pratt Free Library and University of Maryland in Baltimore, University of Maryland, College Park, Prince Georges Co. Memorial Library, Hyattsville and St. Mary's College, St. Mary's City in Maryland; and at the University of Virginia Library in Charlottesville, Virginia. If you are in Berlin, Germany you can read it at the John F. Kennedy Institut fur Nordamerikastudien, and in about 100 other libraries throughout the United States, Canada and numerous other countries.

Here's how the various proposals compare on taxing single family homes as a group:

	Taxes Collected	Tax Relief
Current System	47.5 million	10 million
Rees Bill	46.4 million	10 million
DC Government Bill	54.5 million	1.5 million

The basic difference between the Rees bill and the current system is that Rees would raise a little less money. Overall rates would therefore have to increase to provide the same level of relief as under the current system. Under the Rees bill renters would, for the first time, get some rebates on property taxes passed on to them by their landlords.

The city's bill would eliminate all home exemptions and grant relief only to those who were over 65 and made less than \$5000 a year (Ken Back, the city's tax czar, stated at the council hearings that the city might consider a plan to grant some relief to all those who earned less than \$15,000 a year but he had no specifics. Don't hold your breath.)

It would appear on the surface that the Rees bill is the best approach since it comes closest to doing all the right things.

But it has a serious deficiency. About one-third of the single-family homes in the District are rented. Those who rent these houses bear the full brunt of the property tax just like homeowners. Under the Rees bill, however, house renters would lose their present tax exemptions and only if they earned under \$7000 a year would they get any relief. If they were students they would get none at all. Most house renters could expect their taxes to go up eighteen percent under the Rees bill, hardly a way to go about reforming the property tax.

There is a way out: a flat \$4,000 home exemption for every single family residential property owner occupied or not. This would make the tax on homes more progressive.

SEND ONE DOLLAR FOR THE COMMUNITY ACTION GUIDE TO GAZETTE, 109 8TH ST. NE DC 20002

BOOKS BY GAZETTE WRITERS

RICHARD KING

THE PARTY OF EROS. Dell paperback 1973.

JOEL SIEGEL

VAL LEWTON: THE REALITY OF TERROR. Viking Press, 1973. \$6.95 hardback, \$2.75 paperback. Available at Discount Books, Brentano's and the Nickelodeon.

JAMES RIDGEWAY

THE LAST PLAY: THE STRUGGLE TO MONOPOLIZE THE WORLD'S ENERGY RESOURCES. Dutton 1973. \$10.

CHUCK STONE

TELL IT LIKE IT IS. Trident 1968
BLACK POLITICAL POWER IN AMERICA. Bobbs-Merrill 1968 hardback; Dell 1969 paperback.
KING STRUT. Bobbs-Merrill 1970.

LARRY CUBAN

TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE: TEACHING IN THE INNER CITY (Free Press, 1970)
YOUTH AS A MINORITY (National Council for Social Studies) 1972
BLACK MAN IN AMERICA (Scott, Foresman, 1964; Revised 1971)
PROMISE OF AMERICA (Scott, Foresman 1971) Philip Roden co-author.



HAPPY VALENTINE

After the story above was written, Commissioner Washington announced a \$17 million valentine to the commercial property owners of the city.

While claiming that he is not increasing taxes, the Commissioner has shifted the burden of the DC property tax from commercial owners to residential owners.

In order to finance the city budget the homeowner will receive an average market value increase of 20 percent on his home.

Commercial owners would also receive such market value increases but the commissioner is lowering from 65 to 55% the rate commercials pay. What this means is that the city will raise less money in toto, since commercial property is the biggest source of property tax revenue, but that homeowners will pay far more taxes.

The commissioner attempted to make his announcement look like a break for renters. It is not. There is no requirement that renters be passed the average of \$31 per unit tax decrease. Also the across the board reduction on apartments will mean that the greater the value the apartment building the greater the tax relief. The owners of the Watergate will profit far more by the Commissioner's action than will owners of smaller apartment buildings.

If you own a home your taxes are going up at least 20 percent if not more.

If you rent you will probably receive no relief.

If on the other hand you are Woodies, the Sheraton, or the Washington Post your taxes will go down - substantially.

The action forecloses any early tax relief for homeowners in the way of homestead exemptions, as well as ending any possibility of circuit breaker relief for tenants. Until home rule, only Congress or the courts can alter the Commissioner's decision.

All tax relief under Walter Washington's brand of government will go to those who least need it (the Board of Trade et al) from those who most need it - the fixed income homeowners and renters.

Happy Valentine's day.

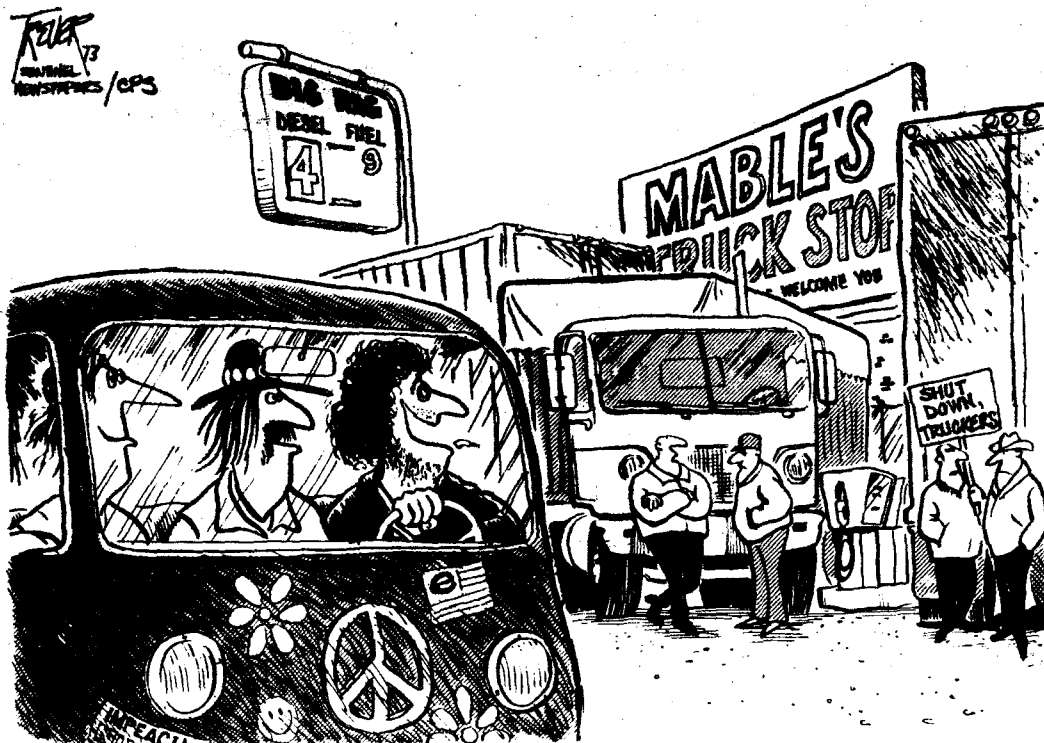
A \$4,000 exemption means a lot more to the owner of a \$10,000 home than to the owner of a \$40,000 house. It would go like this:

House Value	Current Tax	Rees Bill	\$4,000 Ex.
15,000	273.90	259.20	237.60
25,000	456.50	475.20	453.60
35,000	639.10	691.20	669.60
40,000	730.34	799.20	777.60
50,000	913.00	1,015.20	993.60

A \$4,000 exemption would make those with higher valued homes pay more and those with homes worth less than \$26,500 (about half the houses in the city) pay less. The good thing about the \$4,000 exemption is that it would bring just as much money as the current system, but the relief among homeowners would be more fairly distributed.

What about apartment renters? Sad to say there is not much that can be done to help them by revising the property tax alone. The answer is to recognize that the property tax is one lousy way of raising money. The District's tax base is small compared to other major cities. Show me a town with a high property tax rate and I'll show you Newark.

The solution lies then in other taxes. Under the home rule bill the city will not have to go to Congress to get other taxes raised. The parking business, for example, pays no sales tax. A 5% sales tax on parking would raise at least \$7 million a year.



'Say, man, let's go beat up on some protestors!'

Enough to help apartment renters substantially.

Unless another source of revenue is added, or unless the general tax base under-

goes great expansion and raises far more money than it does now the best reform would be to leave well enough alone, only adding a \$4,000 exemption for homes.

The great Washington scandal of '74

KATHRYN JEAN SMITH

WASHINGTON newspaper readers one hundred years ago this month were also following a raging scandal in the press—only unlike our current embroglio, this one involved the local government. Before it was over, it would cost the District of Columbia the self government it has only now begun to retrieve.

Alexander R. (Boss) Shepherd, first the most powerful member of the Board of Public Works and then the governor of the new territorial government of Washington, had torn up the entire city and in sixteen months had laid 365 miles of street and sidewalk paving, over 130 miles of sewer mains, 30 miles of new water main, graded and leveled the populated central areas of Washington and Georgetown, pulling Washington out of the mud and sewage which had become its hallmark due to Congressional stinginess since its creation.

The results were astounding, but it

had been done at great cost, both to the local budget and to the physical and financial wellbeing of homeowners and businessmen, many of whom, like self-government, never recovered from the blow.

Though during his period of power he plunged the District into a \$22 million debt and though he himself left the city under a cloud of personal suspicion, Boss Shepherd returned to Washington in 1887 to be hailed as the "maker of Washington." His statue still stands in front of the District Building.

Historian Constance McLaughlin Green describes Shepherd as "handsome in a flourid style," possessing "an easy hail-fellow-well-met approachability." A former steam-fitter's apprentice and army private, Shepherd had risen meteorically by the 1870's through heavy borrowing to being one of Washington's largest real estate developers, the first to build blocks of buildings in

the city, some estimates of his total production reaching as high as 1,500 houses. His own home at 17th and K was lavishly decorated with scarlet satin and Brussels lace; rumor had it that it took one servant full time to polish the mirrors.

From the beginning there were those who doubted the wisdom of putting such a flamboyant big-spender in charge of Washington's public works program, but others welcomed a man with the personal magnetism and the single-minded drive to bring the nation's step-child out of its civic poverty.

That Shepherd is perhaps Washington's most controversial figure is clear from the fact that historians still disagree on his final merits. The extent to which he was both hero and villain in his own time can be seen in the following articles from the Star exactly 100 years ago. But first some background.

Washington after the Civil War was a miasma of dark muddy streets, open sewers, and wandering livestock. There were serious efforts afoot to move the nation's capital to the midwest, away from this barbarous place and its supposed southern leanings. Many whites also feared the growing political power of the newly-enfranchised blacks; 33% of the district was black. Largely to give the city enough political clout to modernize, though race was an issue, the self-governing cities of Washington and Georgetown joined with the county of Washington to become a territory, with a presidentially appointed governor and upper chamber and elected house of delegates. An appointed board of public works was to spearhead the effort to save the capital.

Shepherd, who immediately became the dominant figure on the board and in the entire territorial government by sheer force of personality, proposed to modernize the city at a cost of approximately \$6 million, \$2 million to come from assessments on improved properties, \$4 million from bond issues.

However, after one half year the elected legislature of the territorial government had already sanctioned debts of over \$9 million. Work was begun frenetically all over town without adequate engineering surveys, sewer pipes missed connections by



SUNKEN FIRST FLOOR ON GEORGETOWN HOUSE COURTESY OF BOSS SHEPHERD

as much as ten feet at the corners; grading and filling left houses perched on precipices above the street or buried as high as the second floor; the papers began to be flooded with auction notices due to unpaid assessments; rumors of corruption were rampant. By 1874, the territorial government had weathered two congressional investigations, but the Panic of 1873 and the ensuing depression again raised complaints to a public outcry.

Leading those petitioning for a third investigation, (labeled "obstructionists" by the Star which as the leading Republican newspaper in town fervently defended the Board of Public Works) were the cities' propertied elite, including the socially prominent philanthropist W.W. Corcoran of the banking house of Riggs & Corcoran. Because he claimed he could not get his complaints into the local press, he published a "card" in a Baltimore paper outlining them. His presentation brought him the following editorial outburst in the February 6 edition of the Star.

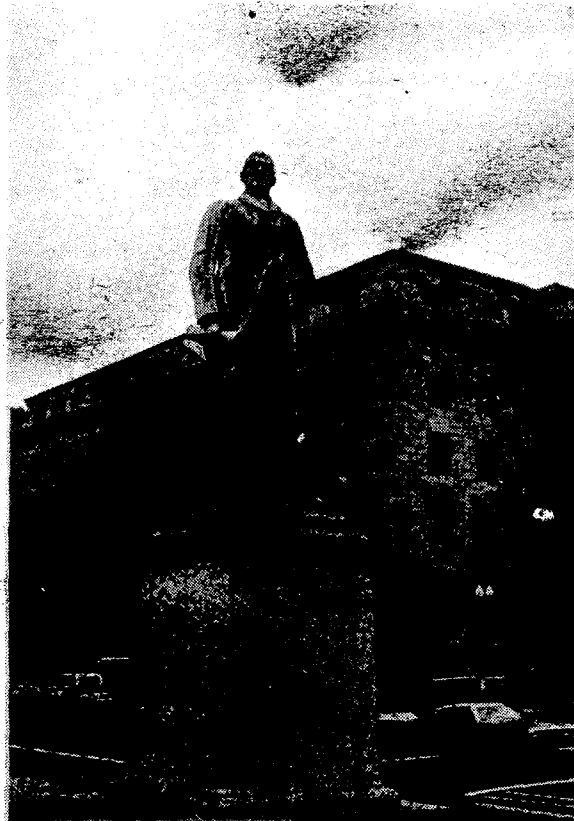
"...The plain fact is that Mr. Corcoran, with all his merits as a citizen, has not been able to appreciate that Washington has needed something besides a picture gallery and an asylum for first family widows. Though the capital city of America has been the scoff and bye-word of the world for its dirt, squalor and incongruities, and a formidable attempt to cause its removal was founded on its disgraceful condition, Mr. Corcoran seems to think by his card, that there was nothing amiss in the condition of things here. To be sure he says, as Henry S. Davis says, and all the rest say, that he is favorable to improvements. But how does he show it: by putting his own shoulder to the wheel? No, but by planting himself directly in the path of progress, and resisting its course by every mode of obstruction known to the law, or electioneering tactics. A plain question will best illustrate the matter: —Did Mr. Corcoran, or Mr. Riggs, or Mr. Davis ever move a hand to abate any of the great nuisances, or correct any of the great abuses existing when the District government entered upon the work? Would they or would ten generations of Corcorans, Riggs or Davis's ever have lifted a finger to pave or grade a street, abate the canal nuisance, the market house nuisance, the nuisances of reeking gutters, open-sewers, and unbridged water courses; the nuisance from animals running at large, from green-scummed quagmires in the open streets; from the carriage-dislocating pitfalls, boulders, and dust heaps that made up what was called in those times "the pavement" of Pennsylvania Avenue; from the turnpike gates and wretched roads leading to the country that kept farmers and market-men from the city for nine months of the year and sent them to market in other cities; and from the numerous other nuisances and drawbacks from which we are now happily delivered? No; Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs et. al., estimable as they are in various ways as citizens, could never have been counted on to sacrifice their luxurious ease in any such Herculean labors as these. It required yet better citizens than they, citizens more energetic, public-spirited, self-sacrificing, to undertake the needed task, and carry it through, despite all the obstacles of envy, malice, avarice, and old-foggism. The least to be expected of these gentlemen is that they should applaud and encourage, instead of thwarting, the young men of energy and action who have taken up the great work of improvement and reformation they have left undone."

On page four of the same issue, Mr. Corcoran was allowed to defend himself to local readers. He wrote, in part:

"...Within the past two weeks I affixed my name to a petition, couched in respectful terms and containing no charges, alleging simply that certain grave charges had been made, of irregularities in our District government, which, whether true or false, were doing us great harm, and should be examined into."

The abuse which has been heaped upon me by the press of this District has been such as it has rarely fallen even to the lot of a felon to receive, and not one of them has even done me the kindness to ask a suspension of public opinion until I could be heard."

The mode in which this work has been done, the absence of competition, the fact that the prices were fixed by the Board of Public Works, and the work given to be done by persons of its own choosing; the large bills that have been presented in all



quarters for an inconsiderable proportion of the work done, give rise to a well grounded suspicion at least, that the assessment upon adjoining property has been upon an excessive cost for the whole work. This work has been in a great degree improperly done, the charge for the same often double its value, and the system of assessment in a high degree onerous, in some cases amounting to more than the value of the property.

While the useless changes in the grades of some of the streets, and particularly in Georgetown and on its principal thoroughfares, where in some places filling up and cutting down has been made to the extent of almost thirteen or fourteen feet, and that too against the almost unanimous protest of all interested, shows the arbitrary conduct of those under whose direction this work has been done."

Answering charges that he had not paid his taxes, and that he and his associates were responsible for the lack of money to pay teachers' salaries, Mr. Corcoran pointed out that he had paid over \$22,000 in general taxes for fiscal 1874 and that he was only in default as a matter of principle on his special assessments.

The next day the Star gave front page space to a person signed DeWinton who exhorted over the accomplishments of Shepherd. Calling his accomplishment "a truly titanic work," he outlined what Shepherd had done to change the scandalous conditions giving his home "the general panorama of semi-barbarous towns."

"...The condition of the District, alike disgraceful to our citizens and the nation, Mr. Shepherd proposed to remove. He proposed to do it thoroughly. . .Has he not done so? And has it not been an Alodian work? In its execution Mr. Shepherd has set . . .over 154 miles of curbing. . .near 365 miles of the different kinds of pavements on the sidewalks and carriage and roadways of our cities and county. He has excavated and removed 3,340,000 cubic yard of earth in reducing our avenues, streets and roads to common or uniform grades. . .He has laid . . .55 miles, 18 feet wide of parking, and planted thousands of the finest shade trees along our parks, avenues and streets. He has laid . . .in all, over 130 miles of all kinds of sewerage. He has laid more than 30 miles of new water mains. . .He has increased the number of public lamps to over 3,000. . .

And this vast amount of work has been done in about 16 working months!"

He continues to list the redeeming of Water Street (now K St.) at the foot of Georgetown from floods by raising and paving it, the improved bridging of Tiber Creek from Pennsylvania Avenue to Indiana Avenue along Second St., the filling in of the Washington Canal from Sixth to 17th Streets, NW (now Constitution Avenue.) "Do these deeds not demonstrate that indeed he possesses the chief excellence of man?"

On February 13 a joint committee of Congress announced its intention to investigate once again the charges of "the memorialists" against the territorial government and requested complete documentation of its public works efforts from Shepherd, now territorial governor. On February 14, the Star's

valentine to the city was this editorial contemplating the merits of Messrs. Corcoran and Shepherd based on their mutual but varied commercial ancestry, a lengthy opus filling a column and a half titled "The Lap-Stone calling the Jack-Plane vulgar:

"It seems to us that the partisans of Mr. Corcoran, in persisting in setting up comparisons socially, and in regard to good citizenship, between him and Governor Shepherd, are doing their patron doubtful service. The attempt to make social distinctions in this republican country, founded upon wealth or birth, is flunkyish and un-American to the last degree, and in this instance has, for conspicuous reasons, a particularly absurd aspect. The truth is, that both Mr. Corcoran and Governor Shepherd are 'men who have risen,' and what is honorable to one in the fact is honorable to both. To insist that the one by reason of his wealth is elevated to a social plane, placing his actions beyond the reach of criticism, and that the other is only 'an illiterate mechanic,' 'an upstart' who should be punished for presuming to assert equality with the millionaire moneylender, is both untrue as a matter of fact, and insulting to the dignity of common labor by which they both have risen. . .Mr. Shepherd is in no sense a more 'illiterate mechanic' than Mr. Corcoran. . .

If it is creditable to Mr. Corcoran that he rose from the lap-stone to a prominent position in business and society circles, it is equally creditable to Mr. Shepherd that he rose from jack-plane to the first place in his native community. Unless on the ground maintained heretofore by a zealous Knight of St. Crispin that 'there is nothing like leather,' there seems to be no sound reason why the man who has pushed an awl should outrank, socially, the man who has pushed a jack-plane. Mrs. Dahlgren and other authorities on official and social etiquette, sets down the exact order of precedence for diplomats, Supreme Justices, cabinet officers, Senators, &c, &c, but we have nowhere seen it asserted that a shoemaker is socially the superior of a carpenter. And, going back to history for light, there seems to be no valid foundation for the claim. So far as Sacred History is concerned, the carpenters seem to have had rather the best of it in the social scale."

After lengthy references to Biblical and American political history in support of the superiority of carpenters, the editorial continues:

"Mr. Corcoran has provided a magnificent cemetery for the dead, where a few hundred select corpses can be eligibly accommodated in underdrained earth, under patriarchal oak and separated from common clay by a stately, brass-mounted iron fence.

(Please turn to page 13)

JONES AT MARKET

From Gadabouts Column in the Evening Star, February 1874.

A good deal is said by housewives in defense of the market bills with which they present Pater Familias, but said bills are too often ascribed to the dearthness of the Washington markets, whereas they grow out of the listless leaving of market duty to middle-men, whose bills have a fatality of arithmetical progression. Jones astonished his wife this week by going to market with a five dollar bill and returning with meat enough for five breakfasts and two dinners, and yet more than one dollar in his pocket. He invested as follows, and sends me the score:

"Five breakfasts: 1. Two pounds sausage, thirty cents; 2. Three pounds scrapnel, thirty cents; 3 string of twelve fish, twenty-five cents; 4. Three pounds of tripe, thirty cents; 5. Two dozen eggs, fifty cents. For two dinners: Eight pounds of corned beef, one dollar. Vegetables for the above: Peas, spinach, carrots, celery, cabbage, two dozen green pickles, half gallon saurkraut, horse radish, and two soup bones. Total \$3.90.

Jones related the above to two or three persons in the presence of his wife, and is consequently pushed out of bed by starlight every second morning, and told to go to that old, cheap Dutch market."

PULL OUT SECTION FOR
OUT-OF-TOWN READERS

the gazette supplement

FOR THE BENEFIT OF OUR OUT-OF-TOWN READERS WE ARE PLACING ALL OUR NON-LOCAL FEATURES IN ONE SECTION TO BE CALLED THE GAZETTE SUPPLEMENT.

FEBRUARY 1974

Banks and the energy crisis

JAMES RIDGEWAY

SENATOR Lee Metcalf's recent study on corporate ownership helps to demonstrate how big New York banks stand to gain from the energy crisis. This report, a detailed analysis of ownership in American corporations, shows that the major New York banks, often disguised through use of nominee names, are important stockholders in energy, transportation, manufacturing and retailing industries. They are in a position to juggle the policies of companies that supposedly are in competition with one another.

The coal business provides a good example of how banks dominate the energy industry. Over the last 10 years oil and mining companies bought up the coal industry. Two firms, Continental Oil and Kennecott Copper now rank as the first and second leading producers, accounting for about 20 percent of the coal market. Behind these two companies are a handful of New York banks. Seventeen percent of Kennecott's stock is held by Morgan Guaranty. Nine percent of Continental's stock is controlled by three banks, led by Bankers Trust (5.8 percent), followed by Morgan (2.2 percent) and Chase Manhattan (1.3 percent). [Five or 10 percent of the stock in a widely held company is often sufficient for control.]

That puts three New York banks in the position of controlling two major coal producers. But the potential power of the banks is more sweeping than these figures suggest. Economic power in coal depends on future reserves, which may well be used as a feedstock for a new synthetic fuels industry. Both Continental and Kennecott are rich in coal reserves. So too is the Burlington Northern Railroad that with 11 billion tons of coal reserves, is often called the richest coal company in the nation. Metcalf's study shows that 21.7 percent of the Burlington Northern is controlled by seven major New York banks, with Chase (6.7 percent) and Bankers Trust (4.5 percent) controlling 11 percent. In this instance, the banks not only have potential control over the fuel

resource, but also the means to transport it.

The study indicates banks dominate public utilities. While utility rates are "regulated," and their operations monitored by public commissions they are virtual money machines for banks and other financial institutions. The situation at the Long Island Lighting Company illustrates the usual arrangement. A handful of Lilco directors also are officers or directors of banks that loan the utility money. Among them is the First National City Bank, represented on the Lilco board by Edward W. Pyne, a senior vice president. In its trust department, City Bank holds 2.8 percent of Lilco's outstanding common stock. As the utility's principal creditor, the bank holds open a \$12 million line of credit. The utility pays City Bank about \$100,000 each year to act as its stock transfer agent. City Bank along with other New York and Long Island financial institutions that loan to Lilco, stands to make money in two major ways — by collecting dividends on stockholdings and interest on loans. In the past much of Lilco's debt has consisted of short term borrowings from banks at higher than normal interest rates. This sort of lending is doubly profitable from the banks' point of view since they require that the utility deposit 20 percent of every million dollars borrowed in interest free accounts.

The temptation then is for utility directors representing banks to increase profits, thereby enhancing dividends, and to churn short term debt at high interest rates. Neither of these objectives necessarily has anything to do with increased efficiency, ecological sound operations, or service to customers.

But there are more ingenious ways for a bank, insurance company or other financial institution to make much more money and exercise more influence by using a public utility as a pivotal point in a wider industrial strategy. Because a utility is reg-

ulated, even if only on a nominal basis, it is difficult to take out terribly high profits. So a clever financier will protect his interests in the utility by gaining control over the company's fuel supplier. Most utilities are allowed to pass along routinely to consumers increased costs due to rising fuel prices. In this manner rate regulation can be circumvented.

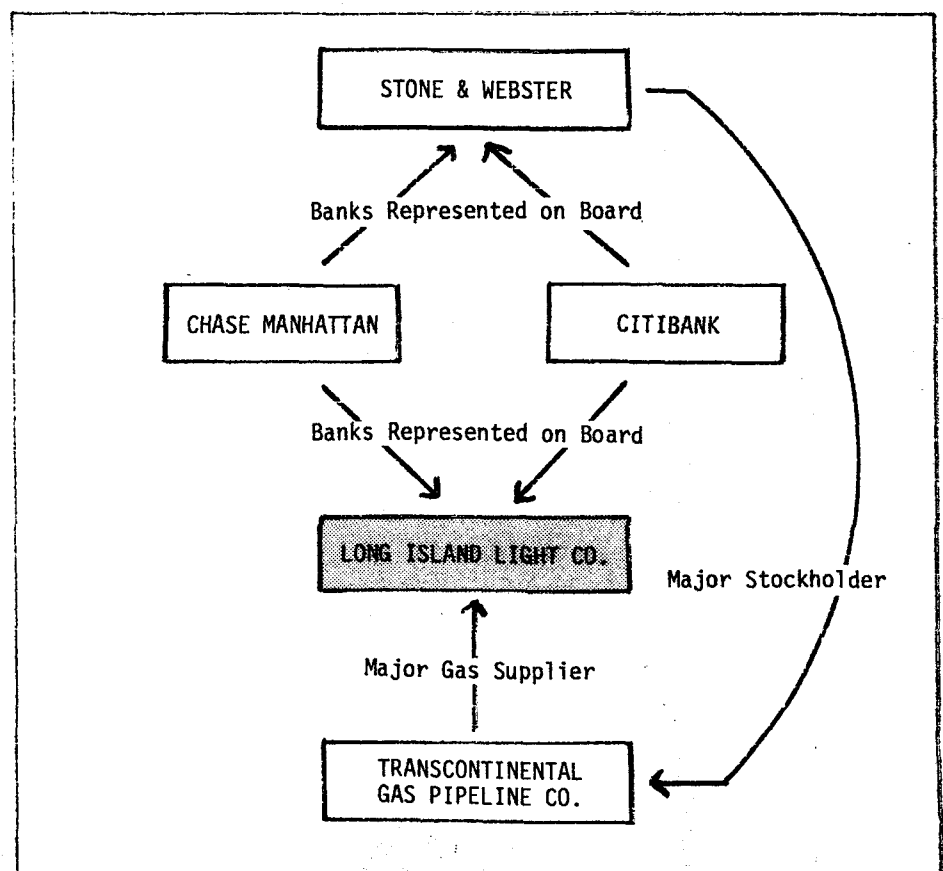
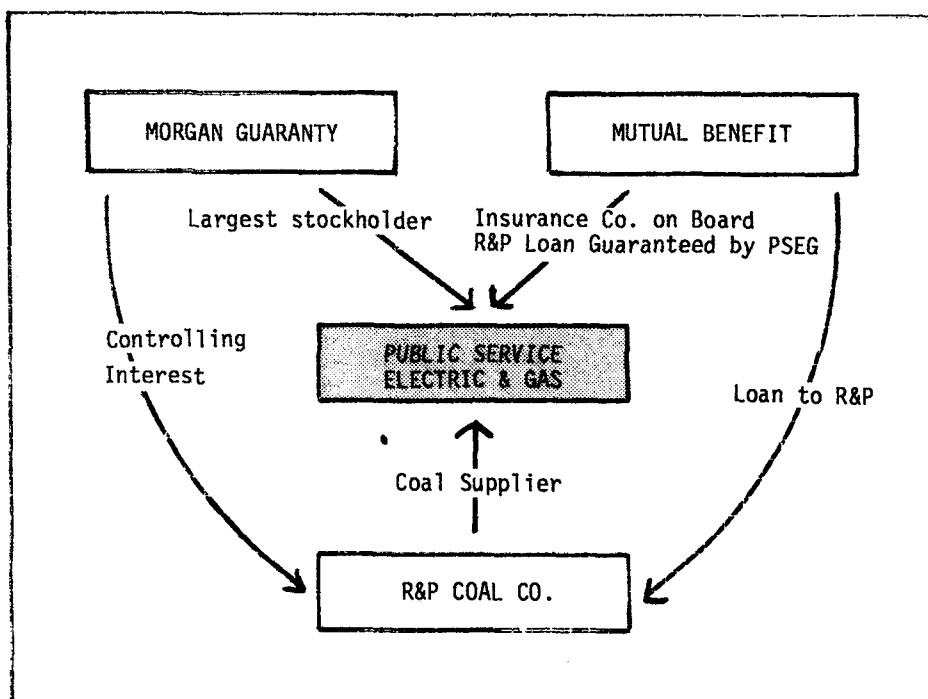
Here are two examples of how financial institutions obtained a position to control utility policy. In Newark, Public Service Electric Company, one of the largest utilities on the East Coast, maintains a cozy relationship with New Jersey banks, whose representatives sit on its board and from whom the company borrows money. In addition, Prudential Insurance is among the utility's largest stockholders. The two companies share common directors, and in 1970 Public Service paid Prudential \$3.4 million in insurance premiums for life and health insurance for employees.

In 1970 the utility guaranteed an \$8.5 million loan by Manufacturers Hanover and Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Co. to Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Company. Mutual Benefit has directors on the Public Service board.

Rochester & Pittsburgh was then a major coal supplier to the utility. The controlling interest in this coal company was held by Morgan Guaranty, also the largest stockholder in Public Service Electric & Gas. In this case, Morgan Guaranty stands to gain from its control over a fuel supplier and a utility; and its domination of the fuel supplier offers an opportunity to circumvent rate regulation by jiggling fuel prices.

Another example involves Lilco and was described by Kenneth Crowe in *Newsday*. Both City Bank and Chase Manhattan have major stockholdings in Lilco. Both banks have sizeable credit lines to the company. Both banks are connected by directors to Stone & Webster, a firm that both under-

HOW TO DO IT



writes securities issues and provides engineering and design services. Stone & Webster is the largest single stockholder (8 percent) in Transcontinental Gas Pipeline Co., the natural gas company that supplies Lilco with most of its gas. Natural gas is supposedly in tight supply and Lilco along with many other utilities in building nuclear power plants to generate future electricity. When it came to designing its

Shoreham nuclear power plant, Lilco bypassed the lowest bidder, and took Stone & Webster instead. So here is an apparent relationship between two commercial banks, (City Bank and Chase) and an investment banking outfit (Stone & Webster) juggling the affairs of the Long Island utility.

It is unlikely that banks and other financial institutions control the day to day operations of companies in which they

hold controlling interests. Far more important, they can frame the basic assumptions on which the industries develop. In the case of energy, their control over major coal producers means that the decisions effecting development of a synthetic fuel, burning coal in utilities, etc., will be made at least in part by the major New York banks and the oil industry, and not the public.

Bombs over Santiago: smart — and ours?

MORE than four months after the September 11 overthrow of the government of Chilean president Salvador Allende, evidence is mounting that the U.S. government played an overt role in the military coup. A report from Agencia Arauco, a clandestine left news service now operating in Chile, has charged that at least one U.S. Air Force plane — a B-57 — was involved in coordinating the activities of the junta military forces.

The report, first printed in an Argentine daily newspaper, *El Mundo*, on October 31, gives the license number of the plane as #63103289 and identifies the crew as Majors V. Duenas and T.C. Schull with reserve pilots Captains M.B. Lemmons and D.C. Baird.

The Ford in your past

THE Americans for Democratic Action compiled an analysis of newly confirmed Vice President Gerald R. Ford's voting record during his tenure in the House of Representatives.

Excerpts of the voting analysis follow:

- Ford voted to cripple Voting Rights Act of 1965; to nullify Title VI of 1964 Civil Rights Act as applied to elementary and secondary education; to reject open housing amendment to Civil Rights Act of 1968; to gut the EEOC bill; and for all anti-busing amendments.

- He also voted against public housing in 1949, '50, '51, '52, '53, '54, '55, '59 and '60.

- He voted against establishing national food stamp program, against the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, against Medicare, against funds for education, against providing unemployment compensation to farm workers, and to kill rent subsidy program 1965-66.

- Ford voted to weaken minimum wage bills in 1949, '60, '61, '66, '72 and '73; to weaken Occupational Health and Safety bills 1970 and '72' and to deny food stamps to strikers, 1973.

- On civil liberties, Ford voted for Anti-Subversive bill, 1950; against requiring prior court approval for wire taps, 1954; to upset the Supreme Court Mallory Decision regarding admissible evidence, 1958; and for a constitutional amendment allowing school prayers, 1971.

- On environmental issues Ford voted against federal aid to states for prevention of water pollution in 1956, '60; against mass transit legislation in 1964; for SST in 1971; against deleting funds for Cernian nuclear test, 1971; and against AEC funds to fight water pollution, 1969.

- Ford also voted against all attempts to limit or end US involvement in Indochina, including the Cooper-Church amendment, 1970; Nedzi-Whalen measure, 1971; the Hamilton-Whalen measure, 1972; and the Addabbo amendment, 1973.

- He voted for the Safeguard ABM system and against all attempts to lower military spending 1969, '71, '72, '73 and against war powers legislation in July '73.

Arauco charges that the plane "acted as a radio central, actually coordinated the moves of the right wing insurgent forces before, during and after the military coup. The National Security Agency supplied the plane, which specializes in espionage and is equipped with the most modern telecommunications instruments."

According to the dispatch, the plane operated out of a U.S. base called El Plumerillo, just outside of Mendoza, Argentina, high in the Andes on the border adjacent to Chile.

The base was founded in 1965, just prior to the military coup there which ruled Argentina until 1972. It is reported that military planes leave El Plumerillo daily on flights to the U.S. War School in the Canal Zone, which is an American-run training school primarily for counter-insurgency techniques, especially for Latin American countries.

The plane flew two missions over Chile on September 7 and another two on September 10, plus four more missions during the period between September 11 and 13.

On the day of the coup, the B-57 took off from Mendoza, flew to La Serena, Chile and then on to Mont Puerto. It had three landing places in Chile reserved in case of emergency: Cerroillos, Pudahuel and Cerro Moreno.

An Air Force spokesman, asked by the Boston *Phoenix* to comment on the Arauco report, admitted that a plan with that license number did leave Mendoza, Argentina "on a scheduled international flight plan." He insisted that the plane is a "weather aircraft" and did not "intrude on Chilean airspace."

Other investigations, conducted by people in the U.S., are beginning to add to the picture laid out by Arauco. Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC), based in Washington, has offered an elaboration of the theme of U.S. military involvement in the coup.

Tim Butz, a member of CARIC who served four years as a reconnaissance expert for the U.S. Air Force, has analyzed photos of the bombed Presidential Palace, the Moneda, where Allende died. The photos show that the surrounding area was virtually untouched, while the Moneda was totally demolished.

Butz feels that this damage could only have been accomplished through the use of "smart bombs and rockets" — weapons that must have come from the advanced technology of the U.S. military.

It will be some time before the whole story of U.S. participation is told. The two congressional committees that had launched an investigation into the coup abruptly suspended their hearing in November, having only called a few witnesses — mostly from the government.

That, of course, can only verify the optimistic feelings of the junta, who are apparently making plans to join an alliance of Latin American military governments.

Asked to comment on this optimism, Frederico Willoughby, a press spokesman for the junta previously employed by the U.S. government in Chile, said "before the coup I took time to read the world press on Brazil and Greece and found out that after the initial outcry, people forgot what was happening in those countries."

— LNS

NIXON BUDGET CUTS

In case you couldn't tell, the latest federal government spending figures confirm that military and police programs are on the way up, and social services are on the way down.

These figures are for July and August 1973, as compared to July and August 1972. The only exception to the trend is the Office of Economic Opportunity, which had been drastically cut the year before. In all cases, the real cuts are more serious than they seem because of inflation.

Expenditures in \$ millions

SOCIAL SERVICES

July-August, 1972 July-August, 1973

Health services and mental health administration	178	137
Office of Education	569	562
Social and rehabilitative services	2096	1902
Model Cities programs	101	81
Low-rent public housing loans	65	39
Urban mass transportation fund	74	37
Four civil rights agencies	17	11
Office of Economic Opportunity	139	173

MILITARY AND POLICE ITEMS

International security assistance (military foreign aid through A.I.D.)	184	442
Defense Department military	10,894	11,695
FBI	55	70
Selective Service System	16	17
Law Enforcement Assistance Admin.	77	121

CPF

(Information from *Economic Notes*.)

action notes

THE Source Catalogs Collective has now begun a mail order distribution center for books on various aspects of organizing that are often otherwise hard to get hold of.

As they point out, "Small non-profit groups who publish many of these community organizing guides do not have the money, time or skill to carry out an intensive publicity campaign needed to reach the thousands of towns and small cities across the country. Commercial publishers do not push hard-core organizing books outside of a few urban centers."

The 30 titles they offer include titles on tenants organizing, a guide to obtaining money from foundations, a book on setting up co-ops, and a handbook for women organizing women.

The catalog is available from the Organizers' Book Center, P.P. Box 21066, DC 20009.

FROM GALP: The Group on Alternative Law Practice has received enough financial support to establish a regular newsletter, which now has a nationwide mailing list of about 700. The newsletter is an attempt to establish a communication system for those interested in setting up law collectives and exploring other untraditional methods of legal practice.

In addition to publishing the newsletter, we hope to compile a comprehensive directory of law collectives and other alternative law groups.

If you'd like to be on our mailing list, or if you have any ideas to share, we can be reached at this address: Group on Alternative Law Practice, Catholic University Law School, Washington, DC 20017; or by calling Judy Kincaid (363-7573) or Marc Blesoff (533-3871).

THE Southern Conference Educational Fund has published its 1974 calendar. Each page of the calendar, entitled "Women and Work in Song and Narrative" has a month's calendar and an opposing page with graphics and songs, poems or articles about women in the south.

The calendar has articles on the strike by women at the Oneita Knitting Mills, on the role of women in slavery, and on southern poultry workers and woodcutters.

Also now available from SCEF is a cookbook, SCEF Recipes: A Radical Cookbook, with recipes contributed by SCEF workers and supporters all over

the country. There is a section on vegetarian cooking and lots of Southern recipes. Many of the recipes are suited for feeding large groups on small budgets.

In addition SCEF offers a variety of posters, postcards and greeting cards featuring graphics and quotations from Mao Tse-Tung, Sojourner Truth and Carl Sandburg, among others.

The calendar is available for a donation of \$2.50; the cookbook for a donation of \$3.00. To order, SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

Robin Hood Was Right

Bumper Stickers
available from
Movement for Economic Justice
1609 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

- ☐ 5 for \$1.85*
- ☐ 10 for \$8.25*
- ☐ 50 for \$12.20*
- ☐ 100 for \$18.65*

*includes postage

WOMEN'S Organizations & Leaders - 1973 Directory (Today Publications & News Service, Inc., DC. 470 pages, \$25.00) is a national sourcebook of the movement toward equal rights and opportunities for women. It tells who's actively engaged in the promotion of equal rights and opportunities for women in such fields as education, employment, law, politics, business and government. It lists and describes individuals who are presently shaping the movement. It includes several hundred Federal Women's Program coordinators in government agencies throughout the United States.

THE Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee is a support group to assist those involved in the Wounded Knee Liberation.

A number of committee members serve as an investigating team - living and working on the Pine Ridge Reservation at Porcupine, S.D. They maintain close contact with reservation residents, research evidence for the trials, and investigate incidents of harassment and violence. Violence continues to plague those who supported the liberation of Wounded Knee and who still oppose the corrupt tribal government.

Approximately thirty fulltime committee members, in addition to a large number of part-time volunteers, work in Sioux Falls and St. Paul. The committee is sustained by small contributions from thousands of people. Committee members receive room and board only - no salary.

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee supports the objectives of the Wounded Knee Liberation and the American Indian Movement. We join in demanding the recognition of the 1868 Treaty with the Sioux Nation and the end to corrupt tribal government on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Write to the committee at 100 N. Phillips (2nd floor) Sioux Falls, S.D. 57101.

A NEW York Alternative Book Fair is planned for July 7-14, 1974, to coincide with the American Library Association convention. Jackie Eubanks, 60 Remson St #10E, Brooklyn, NY 11201.

CALA (Community Action on Latin America) Newsletter prints analysis and inside info on Latin America. 731 State St, Madison, Wisc. 53703.

THE League of Women Voters is selling an Equal Rights Amendment bracelet, the money to go to lobby for the ERA bill in Congress. League of Women Voters, 11313 Frederick Ave, Beltsville, Md. 20705.

3¢ PULP is a strange little anarchistic publication containing anti-government poetry and prose. Box 8806, Station H, Vancouver, Canada.

SIPAPU is a newsletter for librarians, editors, collectors and others interested in Third World studies, the counter-culture, and the free press. They've named Laurence Leamer's The Paper Revolutionaries (Simon & Schuster, 1972) as the SIPAPU Book of the Year for 1972. Leamer's book is about the alternative press. SIPAPU is available from Rt. 1, Box 216, Winters, Cal. 95694.

JOINT Media productions is publishing a Video Catalogue which will contain info on all the different video activities around the country. The catalogue will be out soon. From Box 801, Mill Valley, Cal. 94941. Joint Media also publishes How to Keep Your Volkswagon Alive, People's Guide to Mexico, Self Defense for Gentle People, and other books.

PROBABLY one of the definitive newsletters on the feminist press is the publication of The Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, New York, 11568, entitled News/Notes.

THOSE interested in libertarian books as well as progressive books of various types can find discussion of them in Laissez Faire Bookstore, 208A Mercer St, NY, NY 10012.

RALPH Nader's Public Citizen Report is a listing of the various studies in the public interest prepared by the Nader group. It's available from Box 1-404, DC 20036.

THE Futurist is a slick magazine of forecasts, trends and ideas about the future. From World Future Society, Box 30369, Bethesda Br., DC 20014.



EACH WEEK the problems we face are more complex
EACH WEEK the struggle intensifies
EACH WEEK brings new ideas, new challenges

EACH WEEK **win**

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Vietnam: A Question Of Torture

A 30 minute color film from
Britain's leading commercial
TV company, Granada.

By Anthony Lewis

LONDON, July 15—

THE NEW YORK TIMES

The leading British commercial television company, Granada, did a careful program on Saigon's political prisoners. Among others, it interviewed two American physiotherapists, Jane and David Barton, in a hospital in Quang Ngai.

"People come to the prisoner ward at the hospital often immediately after they've been tortured," Jane Barton said, because prison officials "prefer not to have a dead body at the interrogation center. . . . The first thing we see the results of is [attaching] electric wires to people's toes, or fingers, or sensitive parts of their bodies."

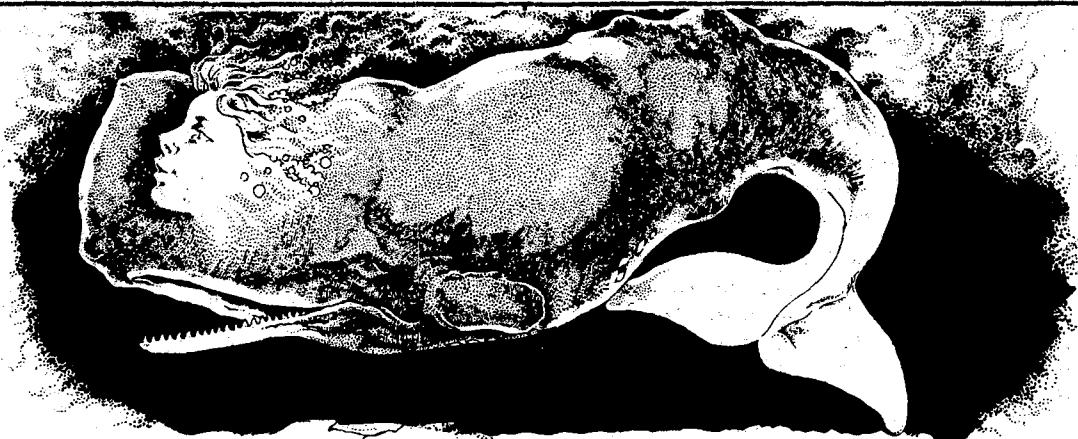
The Bartons had films and still photographs of some of the victims.

Two were women who had been beaten on the head until their skulls fractured and they became paralyzed on one side of their bodies. One was a young girl, the other a 67-year-old woman.

Granada also showed 60-year-old Mrs. Ba Shau, who was blinded by lime thrown in her face by guards when she was held in the tiger cages on Con Son Island. Granada showed other freed prisoners from Con Son being treated by a former American Air Force doctor, John Champlain. Dr. Champlain described how various prisoners lost the use of their legs by being confined in the cages or shackled to their beds.

This excellent 16mm, sound film can be rented for \$10.00 plus shipping costs (about \$2.00 for mailing.) Contact: John Cupples, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 474 Centre St., Newton, Ma. 02158.

Send him your name, phone number and zip-coded address along with a check for \$12.00 payable to: "Rev. John Cupples, R.F.S." He also needs to know a couple possible dates you want the film for.

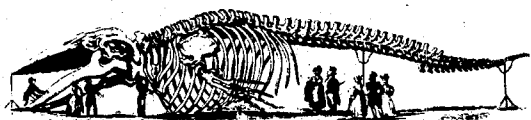


Imagine that you are a whale

You are huge. You weigh more than three thousand people, but the water makes you light and cradles you. Thick fat warms you. You sing whale songs over hundreds of miles. You live in big, friendly families. (Whale babies grow on mother's milk; and whales breathe air.) You easily swim thousands of miles to follow your food. You are so big that you have no real enemies except one: people.



A long time ago, people saw you as a devil fish.



You frightened them. You were so big.



Worst of all, they began to see you only as a product.

You grew lonely. Your parents, brothers, sisters, and friends were gone. You swam, calling your songs-over long distances.

Whales have lived in the oceans for millions of years. But in the time it took for your grandparents to grow up and grow older, people have killed two million whales.

Russia and Japan kill most of the whales today. Russian people kill sperm whales for rocket oil and animal feed. Japanese people have eaten whale meat for hundreds of years, but if they kill off the whales, there will be no more to eat. Many kinds of whales are almost extinct. Extinct means that there are no more and can never be any more. Extinct is forever.

Please help save the whales before they are all gone. Thousands of children all over the world are helping. Write a letter, draw a picture, make a poem or story that tells how you feel. Address it to Mr. Tanaka of Japan and Mr. Kosygin of Russia. Next spring a few children from around the world will take your messages to Japan's and Russia's leaders and plead for the whales. Send your messages to Save the Whales, Project JONAH, Box 476, Bolinas, California 94924.

An hour's worth of your time can mean a lifetime for the whales!

FROM NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO IMPEACH NIXON; 1404 M Street, NW, DC 20005, 659-1118: February 1st thru 15th, home-town impeachings - teach-ins and town meetings of the kind already occurring across the country will let the people know where their congressperson stands on impeachment at that moment. February 18, day of truth - on the legal holiday celebrating the birth of George Washington local demonstrations and actions will demand not only the truth about Watergate and government corruption but also about Nixon's hidden dealings with the energy monarchs at the expense of the people. March 1st thru 3rd, national conference - a representative national conference will be held in the Midwest to determine the future thrust of the impeachment movement and to discuss a mass demonstration in Washington, DC in April or early May. April or early May - dependent upon that time that the House Judiciary Committee reports the Articles of Impeachment onto the floor of the House, large numbers of people will come to Washington to "make it perfectly clear" that Nixon must be impeached! Call us immediately to tell us how you can work with us and how we can serve you.

**FREEZE
PROFITS
NOT
PEOPLE**

button available from
Movement for Economic
Justice - has snowcapped
white letters on blue background.

Price, including postage:

5 for	\$ 1.70
10 for	2.60
25 for	5.60
50 for	9.80
100 for	17.20
500 for	76.90

THE BOYCOTT LIST

The list of products to boycott continues to grow:

In Alabama and Mississippi, the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, a small union of woodcutters and haulers, is striking the giant pulp and paper mills. According to the Southern Conference Educational Fund the relationship between the cutters and the pulp mills is the closest thing to indentured labor and sharecropping still left in this country.

Under what have been called deplorable safety working conditions, the dealers lease equipment to the cutters, deducting payments from the price paid for wood and leaving the cutters in a state of perpetual debt.

National paper companies have in turn supported the mills they do not own in attempts to break the strike.

The boycott of Gulf Oil products continues because of its involvement with the white regimes in South Africa and the United States. Gulf has provided business for Portugal, helping her to keep her African colonies under tight control. And in the US, Gulf has just admitted to illegal contributions to Nixon's 1972 campaign.

Similarly, people are also asked not to buy any products made in Portugal. Buying Portuguese products gives financial support to Portugal's wars against African Liberation struggles. There are many wines and instant coffees sold by Portugal in the US.

The rumor that the boycott of non-UFW lettuce has ended is false. Talks between UFW, AFL-CIO and Teamster lead-

(Please turn to page 17)

Mr. Shepherd has built up a city for the living, cleansed and drained it, banished its fever spots and its plague spots, and made it habitable and healthful for 120,000 people. Is the balance of credit in favor of the man who builds a cemetery, or the man who lessens the need for cemeteries; the man who provides for a few hundred dead, or the man who cares for one hundred thousand living?"

In a considerably more subtle shot, the March 2 description of the delivery of the papers requested of the governor by the investigating committee indicates the Star felt the mere quantity and impressive packaging of the materials delivered were a silent rebuke to the "obstructionists."

"The answer of Governor Shepherd to the interrogatories propounded by the joint committee to investigate District affairs, arrived at the capital promptly at 11 o'clock to-day, as promised by the Governor, in Knox's big express wagon, and accompanied by a guard of seven laborers, in command of Colonel Magruder, treasurer of the Board of Public Works; Dr. William Tindall, Mr. J.C. Lay, auditor of the Board, and Mr. F. H. Johnson, of the contract office. Dr. Tindall carried the answer proper in an immense portfolio tied with red tape. The

vouchers and measurements were contained in eleven boxes about 2 1/2 by 2 feet, and about one foot in depth, with iron handles on the sides and each bore on the side in printed letters 'Measurements and vouchers, B.P.W.' On the top of the boxes was the inscription; 'From To 18' embracing vouchers from 1871 to 1874. These boxes contain 10,565 vouchers and measurements. Besides these there was a large box, three feet square, containing the originals of 1,032 contracts. . . .

Marcellus West and Columbus Alexander, representing "your memorialists," were early on the ground today, and truth to tell, looked far from happy. After watching the transfer of the boxes from the hall to the committee room with lugubrious countenance, they drew aside and for half an hour were in earnest and solemn conference."

The report issued by the investigating committee, though critical of the reckless speed and financial irresponsibility which had allowed costs to reach over \$20 million rather than \$6 million, stopped short of charging criminal misconduct on the part of Shepherd or any territorial official. And historians agree that the transformation of the heart of Washington into a clean, well-lit city of beautiful tree-lined vistas

begun during Shepherd's reign was the foundation for the real estate boom which followed. Senators and Congressmen, most of whom had been living in boardinghouses during Congressional sessions, began to buy or build homes and move their families to Washington. Shepherd himself later told his former private secretary, Franklin Howe, that his only regret was laying so much wood pavement, which soon rotted and had to be replaced.

But the price was high. Congress agreed to underwrite the city's bonds to save it from bankruptcy and after 1878 for the first time assumed a fixed share, 50% of the city's operating costs. But if it was going to foot the bills, it was going to run the show. The territorial government was abolished and replaced with three presidentially-appointed commissioners, a system which remained in effect until the reorganization of the city government under President Johnson. Control of the city for whites may have been the incentive, for which many believe there is strong evidence, but the fiscal irresponsibility of the Shepherd regime was the excuse to set the nation's capital on its long course of total disenfranchisement.

LETTER FROM LORTON

MOST residents of the Complex here at Lorton are very willing to scratch and forget 1973. It was an incredible year, disastrous on every level of existence. After the Industrial-worker's strike and the appointment of what may be a bright-minded new administrator, Marion Dan Strickland came December and it seemed that all hell broke loose. The death of a correctional officer and several serious inmate stabbings — one being the very brutal death of a resident-student of the Seventh Day Adventist Bible Study Class who had been transferred to the minimum security unit. This prompted the publicized guard strike threat.

Amidst all of this, December 12th brought the annual Christmas party and get-together for the members, sponsors and staff of the Man to Man Lorton community project program. The inmates were rewarded with visits from sponsors, relatives, friends and staff. At this gala affair there were many distinguished speakers, the Lorton Band performed, as did Walter McCollough and the Gospel Giants and the Lorton Inner Voices. Football's Charles Harroway and wife were present, along with the program's director, Chuck Mottley and the Associate Director, Stu Murtoff. To many of the inmate residents, though, it was a major disappointment to observe the absence of a program staff member, Ms. Ann Cunningham. The questions remain unanswered, as to her sudden departure from the Man to Man project. This program seems headed for a drastic change of direction into a religious-missionary type of guidance.

Most of our people are spiritually inclined and we all have our periods or chosen places of worship. Nothing can turn the inmate off quicker than the missionary tactics aimed at the Black man by the white-power structure for centuries. We need no one to come and console us, telling us to grin and bear the adverse conditions, while doing nothing to eradicate the over-all problems. We need no more exploitation and comfortable positions for useless program administrators, whose only real interest is gaining a grant for their program. Ms. Cunningham, known to all of us, had been the liaison between the inside and outside for the inmate, endorsing many inmate programs while giving her full support. An extreme amount of her time was spent right here in Lorton...negotiating, and negotiating.

As the ill winds continue to blow, the hoped-for holiday furloughs began shortly before Christmas, the black holy days of Kwanza and during the Ramadan Muslim fasting period. Daily many men left the reformatory to be home with their families

for a twenty-four hour period. The many furloughs were to continue to mid-January, and of this writing there has been an extremely good record of inmate conduct while they enjoyed themselves in the community. (I was one of them).

For those residents unable to fit the criteria for holiday leave, some were able to enjoy a gala Christmas dinner here in the inmate dining room with their families or visiting friends. There was entertainment supplied by the Inner Voices.

The end of December brought to a close two of our best FM-radio programs and thereby ending a beautiful relationship with two of our favorite concerned disc-jockeys, Alfie Williams and Yale Lewis. These two sincerely dedicated jazz promoters gave us their best in programming and did not yield to the commercial compromises found on other stations. Yet, Public Broadcasting let them down and so-called intelligent listeners seemed to have cared less.

JANUARY 1: Nothing has changed much, except the date. They say it's a new year. All of us are still here. Time & Tide, Alerts, Inc., Nathaniel Wright, III, Al Lyons, Jerry Carr, Roland Brown, John Fuller, Calvin Smith, Tony Kootz, Rudi Clemmons, James Glover, Forrest McIlwain, etc., we still need the help — so many of us. I can't name everyone who is capable — and need a chance to live their lives "outside." Specifically, let's remember the guys in maximum security, Charles Wise-Bey and the host of others still "very uptight."

Ms. Connie Hartzler, Family-Counseling head, is the perfect example of the sort of individuals who has ultimate concern for inmate-family welfare and who somehow finds herself "on the way out of the door" when too much interest is shown toward the resident and his problems.

Another vital personality to the inmate population is a psychological services worker, Dr. Morganstern, who seems to understand perfectly what the obstacles are for these warehoused men. Let's hope he doesn't get away with the help of suggestions from the warped thinking of the department.

We at Lorton give our thanks to the many persons, who have had guts enough to step forward and offer help of any kind.

Best Wishes for New Year to All!
Peace.

S. Carl Turner, Jr.

A NEW course on radio about women is being aired over WAMU-FM (88.5) through May 4. The Women Dare Daily course will be broadcast at 10:30 am Wednesday morning, for one hour and re-broadcast on Saturday morning at 11 am.

It's a course which will examine roles women have played and are playing in society. Topics will include women in education, the labor market, the home, consumerism, law and politics and women's health, rights and finances.

Measure For Measure

Many math teachers here and around the country are thinking metric, helping their students get ready for the switch to the metric system, predicted for the U.S. in about ten years.

Springfield (Mo.) math coordinator Ed Rykowski says adults better be prepared, too, and submits this list of common expressions that may need overhauling:

A miss is as good as 1.609 kilometers.

Beat him within 2.54 centimeters of his life.

28,350 grams of prevention are worth 453.59237 grams of cure.

Missed it by 2.609 country kilometers.

Peter Piper picked 8.81 liters of pickled peppers.

Give her 2.5 centimeters and she'll take 1.5 kilometers.

Rykowski says we better start practicing or the metric system will hit us like 100 kilograms of bricks.

—From the Montgomery County Superintendent's Bulletin.

D.C. Citizens For Better Public Education

A MINIMUM wage of \$2.50 an hour for approximately 41,000 workers employed in private industry in the District has been proposed.

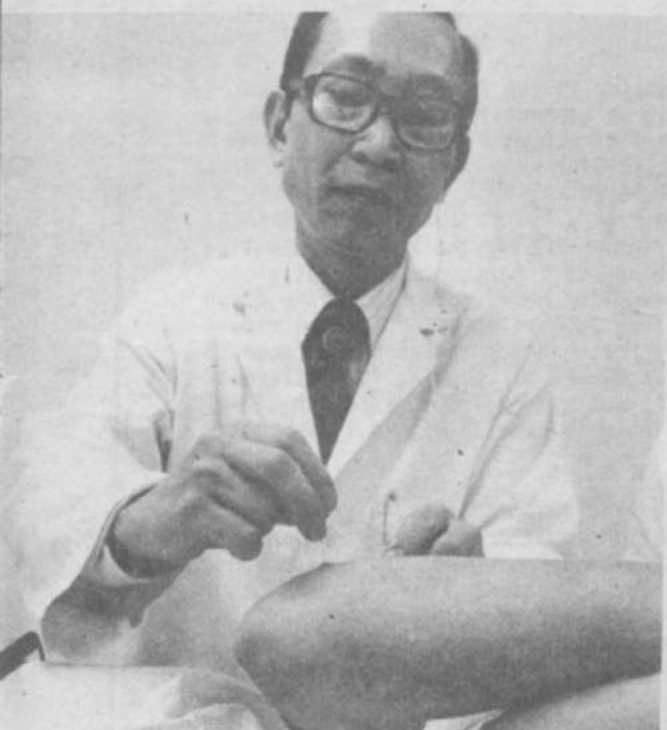
If this rate is adopted it would supersede the \$2.00 minimum wage currently applicable. Establishments covered by the proposed rate are: building materials, hardware, garden supply, and mobile home dealers; general merchandise stores; food stores; automotive dealers and gasoline service stations; apparel and accessory stores; furniture, home furnishings, and equipment stores; miscellaneous retail stores.

Copies of the proposed revised wage order may be secured from the Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board, 614 H Street, NW, Room 615, DC 20001



ROLAND FREEMAN'S f-STOP:
WASHINGTON ACUPUNCTURE CENTER





Carlos Rosario tries to move up

ARMANDO B. RENDON

A PROPOSAL which would increase the annual salary of Carlos Rosario of the office of Spanish Affairs by \$11,000 and of his assistant, Mr. William Smith, by \$8,000, has been submitted by Mr. Rosario himself to the DC government.

No public or official disclosure has been made of the proposal as of now. No public meetings have been held or information provided.

In short, the move (like the behind the scenes political armtwisting which got Mr. Rosario into the job in the first place) was done on a unilateral basis as if a patron system existed for latinos in the District.

The proposal includes the addition of seven new positions to the "Division of Spanish Affairs": 4 program specialists, 2 bilingual secretaries and 1 special affairs and public relations coordinator. Note that while job descriptions and qualifications are given for these new positions, no qualifications of job duties are given for the director or assistant director — the "chief" simply wants to be upgraded from a GS 12 (\$17,497) to a GS 15 (\$28,263) and his "assistant chief" from a GS 9 (\$12,167) to a GS 13 (\$20,677).

Out-of-town travel money is requested in the amount of \$2,670 — where to we are not told (perhaps to Puerto Rico for a big conference).

The proposal points out that Mr. Rosario's office has led to the "discovery" of the need for more social services for latinos. It says nothing about what the official has done to solve these problems, but merely asks for more money and more staff, all under Mr. Rosario's control as a way to solve the latino community's problems.

Mr. Rosario has overstepped his position in the community as a civil servant. He is not a leader; persons in the community must hasten to remind him, but a paid, fulltime employee of the DC government.

Mr. Rosario has made many people believe the contrary. As a government employee he is under the Hatch Act, and cannot be involved in political party activities or use political pressure or the programs and funds under his direction to induce persons in the community to take actions he desires.

This proposal exposes the true objectives of these District employees — to make more money, to govern more and more

staff, and travel here and there — all at the expense of the latino community.

Latinos should not allow this activity and this attitude to continue. They must resist the self-appointed cacique or chief in the effort to gain more power over their lives. Latinos need to have more participation in the decision-making going on around and about them, not less as Mr. Rosario would have it.

Everyone is for self-determination for DC; how about self-determination for DC's latinos?

FROM THE FEMINIST PRESS at State University of New York, College at Old Westbury, Box 334, Old Westbury, Long Island, NY 11568: The Feminist Press announces publication of a new work by Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, author-activists in the women's health movement, entitled Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness. (\$1.50) This 96-page pamphlet is a sequel to their Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers. (\$1.25).

Their new booklet documents the contribution of that male regime of "regular doctors" (i.e., AMA members) to what was to become a tradition of American sexism in medicine before and after the turn of the century (ca. 1865-1920).

eye on d.c.

CLIFFORD ALEXANDER is good-looking, bright, well-spoken, but one question DC voters are going to be asking is what have you done for us lately — or for that matter, ever? Since he can't answer that very well it'd be a good idea for him to let people know as soon as possible just how he would do things differently than Walter Washington — and that means specifics and not that "let's get the city moving again" crap left over from the Kennedy days. There are plenty of ways that Alexander could provide an alternative; it'll be interesting to see whether he chooses to do so.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE OF DC POLITICS is that all big money is dirty money. There is no source of substantial amounts of clean money for local candidates. Therefore, watch your local ward candidates for city council. If one of them seems to be spending a good deal more than the others, it's a safe bet that candidate has been picked by the big boys to serve them down at the District Building. Commercial and development interests in particular can be counted on to be out shopping for power-hungry politicians at the ward level.

So what's the alternative? One is to work like hell for a good ward candidate. At the ward level, organization can beat money. Another is to look for candidates who follow the advice given a novice Texas state legislator by a veteran: sell yourself out early to one special interest. It's the best way to keep the rest of special interests off your back. The candidate who has the Central Labor Council, the liquor dealers or the pot dealers as a patron doesn't have to worry so much about pleasing the Board of Trade. The politician who rounded up a surprising amount of last-minute money on a recent election day for his candidate from the numbers bosses helped to keep corruption diversified. It's likely that many of those elected next fall will be bought; it will help the voter to know: by whom?

EVER PLAY HIGH-LOW POKER where you have a choice of betting on either the worst or the best hand? That's sort of what is going on now in some political quarters as an over-capacity crowd of Democratic politicians face up to the fact that there are only a limited number of slots open. Ideology doesn't mean much and some surprising names may turn up where you least expect them. If the Fauntroy slate is full, there's always a chance that Walter Washington will be glad to have you. Some of the smartest politicians may be the ones that don't run at all; letting a lot of would-be leaders kill each other off in the primaries; then cruise into power in an election a few years from now.

EYEING THE GATE: Anton Wood has announced for delegate in the Statehood Party. A co-chairman of the party (and occasional Gazette contributor) Wood has been a voice for the party on many issues over the past couple of years. . . ARMANDO RENDON plans to run in Ward One. Rendon is one of two Democratic Reform candidates to win a seat on the Democratic Central Committee last time round. . . THE LEADER OF the Democratic Reform slate, John Wilson, looks like a challenger to Fauntroy. . .

IF SOME candidates you expected to run for council chairman don't do so, don't chalk it up to modesty. Restrictions on outside activities for the chairman make the spot less appealing to some. . . IT LOOKS LIKE Bill Lucy may run for City Council chairman, Del Lewis at large. . . QUESTION MARKS: John Hechinger, Sterling Tucker, Jerry Moore, Jack Nevius. Nevius may go for a judgeship. . . IN WARD SIX, the lineup looks like John Anthony, Norma Wegner and Carl Bergman. Yes, that's our Carl Bergman. Geez, it looks like we're going to be the first newspaper in American history to have three of its contributors run for city council. Fortunately, the three (Bergman, Armando Rendon and Anton Wood) are all running for different posts. We promise that it's not a conspiracy, although if we work a bit more we may be able to come up with a full Gazette slate.

BEST IDEA OF THE MONTH: The guide to fees, office hours and other important information about Prince Georges County doctors put out by the Health Research Group. The Prince Georges medical association is furious, threatens legal action, but the HRG may have broken the wall of secrecy that protects the medical profession from the health consumer. Hopefully, the guide idea will spread not only to other localities but to other professions that think they can decide what the public should and should not know about them. Next logical target: the legal profession.

QUOTE TO REMEMBER: From the Star-News: "The mayor characterized the city as a \$1.4 billion corporation or enterprise. 'One of the bottom line questions is who is going to run a billion dollar corporation,' he said."

GAZETTE AWARDS FOR SERVICE BEYOND THE PALE OF DUTY: To WETA-FM for its bad judgement in removing Alfie Williams' great afternoon jazz show from the air. . . To the Washington Post for only belatedly reporting the case of a Washington black man on death row in North Carolina for allegedly raping a white woman. The Post picked up the story only after the Afro-American had done a front page spread on the case. . . To Walter Washington for naming an old crony, Benjamin Alexander, as chairman of the newly revived DC Commission on the Arts and Humanities. . . To City Council for trying to make students carry ID cards in order to use reduced fares on buses.

THANKS to Gil Hahn and Jack Winder for blowing the whistle on excessive mercury output at Incinerator #5, and for provoking one of the finer examples of District Building logic in the official response to their criticism. The District Building explained that while the incinerator might be pumping 40% more mercury into the air than that permitted for mercury smelting plants under federal law, Incinerator #5 was not a mercury smelting plant. Therefore, it seems we are to presume, its mercury won't hurt us.

IF YOU HAVE \$1125 lying around, you can take a three-week South American tour with the Board of Trade beginning Feb. 16.

ACTION NOTES CONTINUED

ers reportedly resulted in an agreement that the Teamsters would allow all their lettuce contracts to expire, but the agreement has not been signed.

Non-UFW table grapes and wines are also being boycotted.

The boycott and strike against Farah for unfair labor practices also continues.

The boycotted items include:

- all California table grapes not bearing the United Farm Workers Aztec Eagle symbol.

- California lettuce not bearing the UFW Eagle. Local lettuce is acceptable, but it is not very widely available anymore. Check before you buy.

- Wines produced by Gallo, Franzia and Guild Wineries. These include Thunderbird, Boone's Farm, Spanada Y Roma, Crestablanca, Familia Cribari, Vino de Tavola and Winemaster.

- Anything manufactured by Farah Slacks.

- The following paper products: St. Regis Paper (school supplies), American Can Company (Dixie Cups, Northern and Aurora toilet paper, Northern and Gala paper towels, Waxtex waxed paper, Butterick patterns), Scott Paper Company (Scott tissues, paper towels, napkins, and baby products, Waldorf tissues, Viva towels and napkins, Cut-Rite waxed paper and bags, and Confident sanitary napkins), Masonite and International Paper Company.

- Gulf Oil products.

- Any products made in Portugal or imported by Portugal. This includes wines such as Alegria, Mateus, Lancers, Costa del Sol, and also instant coffee grown in Angola, one of Portugal's colonies. Do not buy Maxim, Maxwell House instant, Brim, Sanka, Yuban, Tasters' Choice, Nescafe or Chase and Sanborn brands.

THE First Pamphlet Proposing the Creation of Committees of Correspondence to Redeem the Constitution of the United States by Causing the Impeachment of Richard M. Nixon was issued by the ACLU on Oct. 24. The book is a wrapup of materials and writings on impeachment, the ACLU's own call for impeachment, and some of the writings of Thomas Paine written for another era, but with some remarkable similarities to situations today. It further lists the steps people can take to enhance the chances of impeachment. It's available from the ACLU, Wash. Natl. Office, 410 First St., DC 20003.

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MORE GUIDE LISTINGS ON PAGE 27

the tragedy of Richard II

Pep up your outlook with *The Tragedy of Richard II*. Paradoxical? Maybe. This satire on the current political scene is plotted along the line of Shakespeare's *Richard II*, a kind of formula Barbara Garson successfully used in *MacBird*. But if the Bard has supplied the plot, Myers has provided up-to-date punch and insightful humor. It's fresh as tomorrow's headline, perennial as a classic, witty, clever, funny, good satire!

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notes from the real world.

A UNIVERSITY of South Florida biologist says that ordinary fluorescent lighting causes people to be nervous, irritable and hyperactive.

Doctor John Ott says that on the basis of studies of both children and adults, he is convinced that the ordinary fluorescent tubes should not be used in public buildings.

Doctor Ott studied 100 children in four different classrooms. The children were watched and filmed as they studied for three months under ordinary fluorescent lighting — and they were found to be, generally, tense and irritable.

However, when special "full-spectrum shielded tubes" were installed in place of the fluorescent tubes, the children reportedly calmed down. A similar experiment on adults produced virtually identical results, Doctor Ott said.

Full spectrum shielded tubes are similar to ordinary fluorescent tubes except that they give out more ultra-violet rays and emit fewer x-rays. — ZNS

THE National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy — a lobby group in favor of strong gun control laws — points out that in the 10 years since the murder of President Kennedy, nearly 100,000 Americans have been murdered with guns. Another 100,000 have committed suicide with guns.

Another 700,000 have been wounded by guns, and another 800,000 have been the victims of robbery with guns, but without gunfire.

The council reports that more Americans have been shot to death in the homes, shops and streets of America in this century alone than have been killed in all the wars in American history. — ZNS

THE following policy letter was recently distributed on bases concerning dress regulations for women in the Air Force (WAF):

"SKIRT LENGTH: Reference AFM 35-10, para. 1-13b (1). Skirts should normally be at the top of the knee or not more than one inch above. If a WAF has attractive legs, two inches may be acceptable." — CPS

FOR the first time, the Senate will hold a series of hearings to discuss seriously decriminalizing marijuana.

Senators Javits and Hughes have announced hearings in February.

The hearings are being called to discuss the merits of a bill drafted by Javits and Hughes early this session. The bill specifies that persons 18-years and older may not be criminally prosecuted under federal law for possessing, exchanging or smoking small quantities of marijuana. — ZNS

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At the invitation of United States Steel...

I.W. Abel tells how America can become more productive.



"If we adopt a don't-give-a-damn attitude, we risk becoming a second-class economic power."

— I.W. Abel, President, United Steelworkers of America

I call upon every American to enlist in the crucial battle to improve our lagging productivity.

Nothing less is at stake than our jobs, the prices we pay, the very quality of our lives.

Ominous signs have appeared that all is not well. Between 1960 and 1972, average annual productivity rise in U.S. was 3.1%. In comparison, the rate in a number of foreign nations has doubled.

What happened? Things have been so good for so long that we've become wasteful and inefficient. So wasteful that, incredibly enough, many firms nowadays actually expect to scrap 20% of what they produce!

Let me be blunt: I believe we are standing at a pivotal point in our history. If we adopt a don't-give-a-damn attitude, we risk becoming a second-class economic power.

How can we improve? In these ways: By stepping up the efficiency of each worker.

Like Oliver Twist, labor has always sought "more" — more wages and benefits. But labor also knows that to obtain more, we must produce more.

Together we face a great challenge. Together, I am confident we will succeed.

United States Steel, along with other steel companies, recently signed a landmark agreement with the United Steelworkers of America. In it, labor and management guarantee to resolve their bargaining issues — at an industry-wide reduction of

I.W. Abel joins management

IN October US Steel sponsored full-page ads in Business Week, the Wall Street Journal, U.S. News and World Report and Time Magazine featuring, of all people, I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers union.

"I call upon every American," said Abel, "to enlist in the crucial battle to improve our lagging productivity... Let me be blunt: I believe we are standing at a pivotal point in our history. If we adopt a don't-give-a-damn attitude we risk becoming a second-class economic power. How can we improve? By stepping up the efficiency of each worker."

Several steel mill superintendents displayed the ad on plant bulletin boards, provoking an immediate response from Bruce Johnston, vice-president of labor relations for U.S. Steel. In a memo dated October 15, Johnston said: "During a visit to Homestead District Works... I noticed on plant bulletin boards, prominently featured, a copy of the I.W. Abel productivity ad."

"During our discussions with the advertising and marketing people it was, I thought, clearly agreed that this particular poster would not be utilized in our plants. We have all feared over-exposure of I.W. Abel on this whole ENA-Productivity question, and we have recognized the risk of setting him up for his political opposition by too much identity with us. He has trusted USS not to do this."

"We're getting lots of requests concerning the ad. My general view is that it should not be given for use in any plants (our company or others) with steelworker bargaining units."

Copies of the memo fell into the hands of steelworkers and rank and file organizations have been circulating it in the steel mills as a leaflet.

The productivity drive is the main factor behind the loss of jobs in steel mills, since it involves speed-ups and eliminating jobs. The steel industry compiled a record

76 million tons of crude steel in the first half of production in 1972 — 4 million tons more than the first half of 1971. But while production increased, there were 40,000 fewer steelworkers.

U.S. Steel ranks 13 on the Fortune Magazine list of the top 500 industrial corporations with assets of over \$6.5 billion in 1972.

Abel is responsible for pushing through the 1973 Experimental Negotiating Agreement — the ENA referred to in the October 15 memo. This is a no-strike pact the union signed with the basic steel industry which Abel called "an unprecedented experiment that we think will prove there is a better way for labor and management to negotiate contracts."

But much of the steelworker rank and file disagree. The following is an interview with a leader of the insurgent right-to-strike movement within the United Steelworkers. Ed Mann, a steelworker for 22 years, is secretary-treasurer of the Rank and File Team, a reform group inside the union. He is also now president of USW Local 1462 at Youngstown, Ohio, one of the first locals to oppose the no-strike pact.

The interview with Mann was conducted by Staughton Lynd and appeared in the Guardian.

WHEN YOU STARTED WORKING WAS THE RANK AND FILE FREE TO STRIKE?

When I started in the open hearth the men often struck for better incentives, safety equipment, and better working conditions. In three or four months they might have three or four wildcat strikes. It was apparent to me that immediate action got immediate results.

If you had a wildcat, Phil Murray [then president of the union] wasn't available. In two or three days they'd find Murray and by then things were pretty much settled. The companies wanted their production so they generally settled on something.

David McDonald [the second USWA president] tended to be available during a wildcat and would say, "hey, you'd better get back to work." Abel has made it very clear. On the one walkout we had he sent us a telegram which said immediately get back to work or you lose your jobs."

WHAT ABOUT ABEL?

We felt that Abel was going to be true to his campaign promises. We really felt that this was a turning around of our union, that the rank-and-file would have a say-so, the right to be involved in all the decisions that are made in a union. [Ed: The steelworkers have never been allowed to ratify a national contract. A delegate assembly votes instead.] We thought Abel's election meant the end of decisions being made at the top and just handed down, saying "here you are boys, now live with it."

Abel, the district directors, the staff men — they don't have to go in that mill and live with the contracts they give us. Now if we could negotiate the contracts and have the right to ratify them, I'm sure we could live with them a little better.

I think Abel has nothing but contempt for the membership when he refuses to let us ratify our contracts or any other agreements. Our leadership doesn't trust us to make the right decision.

Since Abel took office the dues were increased; the service was not increased.

In our district I don't think we had a district conference more than once in five years, until now that the Rank and File Team is applying pressure. We've had no civil rights conferences, no legislative conferences. And we don't feel that the international is really responsive to what's going on on the job.

Abel and the companies have made deals that the rank and file didn't have anything to do with. We're being taxed to support an organization that doesn't represent us.

Some locals have backlogs of hundreds of grievances. They never see their staff men. We have the bureaucratic machinery but it isn't for the rank-and-file. It just keeps itself in office.

WHEN WAS THE EXPERIMENTAL NEGOTIATING AGREEMENT FIRST SUGGESTED?

The only clue we had that Abel would propose an agreement like the ENA was about six years ago. Abel presented a proposal to the international executive board on going to arbitration. And the executive board voted it down. The only reaction was "yeah, the international executive board did the right thing." Sometimes when you've won a battle you think you've won it. A lot of us aren't sophisticated enough to think that we've got to fight these battles every few years.

WHAT DID YOUR LOCAL THINK ABOUT THE PRODUCTIVITY CLAUSE?

As soon as the productivity clause came out in the 1971 contract, our local immediately went on record that we were in opposition to it. [Ed: The productivity clause called for the establishment of a joint advisory Committee on Productivity in every steel mill. Union and company representatives on the board would then work together to improve productivity and "promote orderly and peaceful relations with the employees and achieve uninterrupted operations in the plant."] We felt that our civil rights committee had been ignored; our safety committee had to battle tooth and nail for every safety thing they wanted corrected.

And then we are saddled with the productivity committee that the company was more than willing to work with. Our stand was that we're not interested in increasing productivity until they increase safety, meet the civil rights committee and so on.

I refused to participate in the productivity committee: it just doesn't reflect my feelings or the feelings of the people I represent on what the union is all about. Increased production means an increased workload on my men. I'm not interested in creating more workload for the people I represent. I want more people employed and I want a workload that people can live with. During the period of the productivity emphasis we had four deaths in our company. One of the men killed was a boy that worked there seven days and another man was one that worked there 30-some years on the same job. I think it was because of "Hurry up, get the job done" in unsafe conditions for the sake of production.

YOU DIDN'T KNOW ANYTHING IN ADVANCE ABOUT THE NO-STRIKE PACT?

The Experimental Negotiating Agreement was a very well-kept secret. An agreement of this importance didn't come up in just one meeting. Abel had to be meeting and negotiating with the companies, and the executive board must have been involved. The ENA must have been involved. The ENA must



have been worked out over a period of months, or years.

When the Basic Steel Industry Conference was called in the spring of 1973 there was no notice of what the local presidents were to go for. In fact, only half of them showed up. They didn't realize the importance of it.

It wasn't a roll call vote. It was "ayes" and "nays." I've sat through enough of those to know that what Abel wants he gets. A lot of local presidents hope to be staff men some day and don't really oppose Abel's policies. When you get local presidents that give some thought to what's going on in the shop, you get people that oppose his policies.

I had a hand in getting petitions circulated in the Youngstown area. It was amazing the people who would walk up and say, "The only thing that makes a union is the right to strike. Without it what do we need a union for?"

When I ran for office last June the people that ran for office with me, our whole group, made it clear that we were in opposition to this Experimental Negotiating Agreement. Our local is behind us in anything we want to do in opposition to the ENA. But we don't do anything as a local unless we take it back to the members.

Looking at past history, I think the unions made real gains only through self-help. They didn't get anywhere when they left it up to the company to dole out bet-

DC GAZETTE
109 8th St. NE
DC 20002

ter conditions or even left it up to an arbitrator. Arbitrators didn't get us the eight-hour day. Arbitrators didn't get us pensions. They didn't even get us hospitalization. This was done by the people on the job.

The record of arbitration cases is how many the company wins and how many the union wins. We are on the very short end of the stick.

Arbitrators may be fair people but

sometimes fairness doesn't enter into it. What's a decent working condition? Arbitrators aren't down in that mill. They can take a tour or read about it in a book but they don't really know what the conditions are if they don't have to keep up with that conveyor, day in and day out. I don't feel a third party should have any input into labor-management problems. I think they should settle it themselves and if they can't the alternative is a strike. —LWS

BOOKS

SEXUAL SUICIDE. Quadrangle, \$7.95
Reviewed by Richard King

MOST right-thinking reviewers have been relentlessly harsh on George Gilder's *Sexual Suicide*. This out-of-hand rejection arises in part from the fact that most of us have little experience in dealing with a genuinely conservative argument. Gilder's book is indeed conservative, but not in the usual American fashion of being anti-statist, devoted to laissez-faire and suffused with a rancid populism and sour chauvinism. None of these characteristics have much to do with genuine conservatism and are really historical detritus, left by the receding currents of nineteenth century liberalism.

Rather Gilder's conservatism is of the following sort: He rejects any notions of man's inherent goodness or rationality. Nor is individual "self-actualization" per se of prime importance. Specifically Gilder contends that the social order depends on the preservation of what he calls the "sexual constitution," the stable structures of family and erotic life in which children are nurtured and disciplined and adults commit themselves to the propagation of the species. He is contemptuous of the liberal cant which ignores social, sexual and age roles for the illusory goal of "treating one another as human beings." For Gilder we live most properly in and through a structured society. To imagine otherwise courts disaster and impoverishes our individual and collective lives. Nor is he enamored of the false assurances to the effect that "freeing" women will likewise "free" men. Such claims avoid the hard fact that consequential reform means that some win and some lose.

Historically the woman has been stereotyped in two mutually exclusive ways: she has been seen as a conservative force or as a disruptive one, as madonna or as seductress. Gilder places himself firmly in the former tradition and hence his basic contention that women are the primary agents of civilization and socialization. (Some will see Gilder as a Marc Anthony figure of sorts, come to bury women by praising them). Without the obligation to family and offspring matched by the softening influence of women, Gilder believes that men

will drift off into aimless and destructive sexuality and aggression. Or displaced from the primary place in the family, jobless or suffering from trivial work, men will sink into a drone-like stupor, assuming a slothful position before the television, and live out their need for action in the violence of pro football. Masculinity is more a cultural achievement than it is a biological given and thus more fragile than femininity. (Rape and violence against women arise not from unchecked power so much as they do from a sense of impotence and ineffectuality.)

The obvious negative example which haunts Gilder is the black family in the ghetto and the statistics which show the disproportionate percentage of crime committed by single, young (and black) males. The implication then is clear. For the benefit of their families and the society, women must remain in or return to the home. All efforts to make women "equal" in an institutional sense are sorely misconceived. The particular villains to Gilder are middle class couples who refuse for whatever reason to bear children and those women of the "moderate" feminist movement who pump for universal, publicly supported daycare so that they can enter the job market. In doing so they neglect their own children, threaten the destruction of their husbands' already precarious identities, fill jobs which men might have filled, and indirectly consign poor women to being nursemaids for middle class children. (Why the educated middle class is so enamored of publicly financed daycare, while it abandons the public school system as repressive or uncreative is a point which Gilder doesn't mention, but is implicit in his discussion.) In short the middle class moderates mask their own class interests by appealing to the ideals of liberation and self-fulfillment.

Gilder's specific suggestions range from the plausible to the merely silly. He is against a work requirement for women and for a system of family allowances. But he also believes that men should receive more pay than women, opposes the Equal Rights Amendment, and urges that we seriously consider segregating education by sex since girls develop faster than boys. (Why female influence is so destructive here yet so therapeutic later is a bit of a puzzle.)

Obviously all this is calculated to drive true believers into paroxysms of anger or sneers of contempt. But Gilder does have the virtue of presenting a coherent argument grounded in fundamental principles (or prejudices if you accept the old contention that conservatives don't have principles, merely prejudices). There are, however, several matters which Gilder slights due to his polemical tone and the anti-speculative

bias of his conservatism. First, are there no alternate forms of child rearing which might replace the family? He dismisses the kibbutzim and rural communes as inadequate proof of anything, but surely the matter demands more attention. Second, if the family is so crucial, why is it so fragile? Is the family indeed on the way out, following the family farm and the novel? Or, conversely, is it so crucial and could we resurrect it if we wanted to? There is a tremendous historical vacuum here. And finally what relationship exists between the family and the economic system? Might not the nature of advanced industrial capitalism have more to do with the weakness of the family than a vague failure of middle class will and sinister designs of liberationists? Gilder accepts the basic outlines of our economy and holds to the "expanding pie" theory of eradicating poverty rather than even discussing, for instance, the re-distribution of income and wealth as possibilities. Thus he must insist that the commitment to productive work, which he claims the family is so crucial in generating, remain central to our value system and also must underplay problems of ecology and overpopulation, which are every bit as serious as his subject matter.

Most glaringly, Gilder's rage to moralize leads him to neglect almost totally the reality of women's discontent other than to claim that women are most dissatisfied when the feminine ideal is debased rather than when women are excluded from wealth, power or status. This may be true, but why has this discontent emerged now? It is probably no accident that women's rejection of their traditional homemaker and mother roles comes at roughly the time when pressures of population and pollution make the bearing of children socially questionable. Thus again the decline of the family and the unraveling of the social fabric (if such are in fact at hand) may have more to do with larger social and demographic forces than they do with individual attitudes and liberation movements.

Nevertheless Gilder has forcefully presented an argument which should not be dismissed with ideological name-calling. In part such a reaction is Gilder's own fault since *Sexual Suicide* is highly polemical, shrill and in places monotonous. His prose can be embarrassingly pretentious and purple, and occasionally he settles for being cute rather than acute. Still the book is a welcome reminder that one can learn more from intelligent enemies than sycophantic friends. It articulates the valid puzzlement of many Americans when they are faced with the claims of the women's movement and for that reason deserves a close reading.

arts in d.c.

ART

WASHINGTON DESIGNER-CRAFTSMEN
(Knoll International, Feb. 11-March 10)
Reviewed by Clarissa K. Wittenberg

THE work of five young designer-craftsmen from this area will be on display at Knoll through March 10. Thurid Clark, a weaver will exhibit her handsome wall hangings, two chairs and a wood and leather couch by Peter Danko will be there, and immense, dramatic sculptures by Ronald Goodman will hang from the ceiling. Richard Mathews will be represented by knotted sculptures of sisal and cord and Türker Özdoğan will show his unusually large ceramic sculptures. Each craftsman is an accomplished professional with an individual style. This show will be a rare treat for those interested in crafts.

Andy Leon Hardy, a writer for *Craft Horizons*, the magazine of the American Crafts Council, has organized the show and invited the artists. In her opinion these are exceptional craftsmen and she is eager to introduce their work to the public, and particularly to architects and designers. Knoll International, one of the very few American companies to consistently encourage good design, is housing this show. Knoll is located at 1053 31st St. NW in Georgetown below M Street. It is open to the public from 9:00 to 5:00, Mondays thru Fridays. Here are more details on the exhibitors:

THURID CLARK

Thurid Clark was born in Dresden, Germany in 1937 and came to this country in 1948. She lived for 10 years in Washington and now lives with her husband Noel, who is a potter, in Gapland, Maryland where they own and operate "Tollhouse Craftsmen" (See article this issue). Her studio is equipped with two floor looms. Yarn is stored in compartments on her walls and provides a preview of her weavings. Favorite tones include browns, earth tones such as rust, orange and purples. Unusual wools such as alpaca have been hunted down to provide special luxurious touches to her work. Her weavings, usually wall hung, are strongly designed with an abstract quality. Rarely does she title them. One exception is a weaving called "Icarus" which is beautiful and has somewhat the shape of two large wings. It, like other of her weavings, has raised and padded areas as well as some very detailed and complicated sections. She uses a number of techniques, rya for instance for a shaggy effect. In another weaving there is a top section of tapestry sections, each separated and yet totally one unit of design. Her work combines areas of hand work and broad areas which are primarily created by expert use of the loom. At times she uses a double weave method to create tubing in sections of her weavings. Often silken white puffs of unspun wools provide relief from the heavier and more severe tones.

Her wall hangings are often quite large, four or five feet in length and three to four in width. Because she works on a loom her basic structure is solidly constructed. She cuts and ties off warp threads to create irregular shapes. She uses expertly wrapped sections and hand done cording for emphasis. Beads and other objects are subtly used.

She is self taught, continuously involved in learning and has achieved some striking success. Her work was accepted in the Biennial Creative Crafts show in Washington in 1971 and 1972 and she won a prize in the latter show. A marvelous pillow with striped

TOLLHOUSE CRAFTSMEN
Gapland, Maryland
Reviewed by Clarissa K. Wittenberg

A SHOP for fine contemporary crafts, Tollhouse Craftsmen, is located in the beautiful mountain area of Gapland, Maryland. Noel and Thurid Clark, formerly Washington area residents, left the city a few years ago and have established studios and this very special shop. Both are artists, Noel a potter and Thurid a weaver, and the shop reflects their taste. They have built a barn-like building to serve as store and studios close to the stone tollhouse they live in. The shop carries their own work and the work of many other craftsmen. They have pottery, their own work and the work of many other craftsmen. They have pottery, wallhangings, jewelry, rugs, purses, some clothing, toys, etc. Those unusual copper Paolo Soleri bells hang around the shop. A series of carved rock maple bowls by Mark Lindquist typifies the unusual and high qual-

ity of their collection. Even the smallest objects - clay beads or a child's wooden multi-color pen - are obviously an artist's choice. The combination of scenery, crafts and the atmosphere created by the Clarks is both calming and stimulating. A little over one hour's drive at the new speed limits, it is located near to Gathland State Park (which has a large arch - a monument to freedom of the press). The Appalachian Trail, many Civil War battlefields, some ski areas and Harpers Ferry are nearby. Tollhouse Craftsmen is open from Wed.-Sun from 10 to 6. The address is Gapland, Md. 21736; phone 301-432-8438. They will mail directions.

A few miles away is a restored inn which dates back to 1732, The Old South Mountain Inn. It serves American food, many regional dishes and has beer and wine. A children's menu makes it a reasonable family choice. Delicious food in a lovely setting.

The combination of this special shop, the artists, the historic spots and a nice place to relax and eat makes this a worthwhile trip even for those concerned about conserving gas.

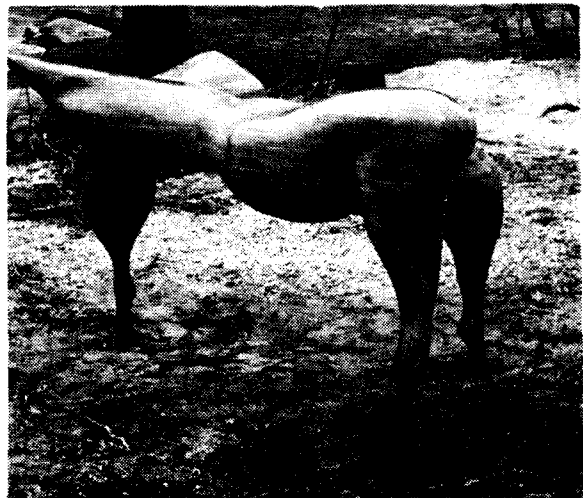
stuffed tabs extending from it was in a show called "Fra Moderne Americans Textilkunst" which featured four American weavers and traveled through Norway, Denmark and Belgium. She participated in the International Monetary Fund show "Fibre Art" last May and at the "Fiber and Clay" show at Hood College in Frederick, Md. in November '73.

PETER DANKO

A Young man, born in 1949 and raised in Bethesda, he has shifted his career from pure sculpture to the building of complex and lovely sinuous furniture. His work begins with a design and then wood is found. Forms are made, the wood is steamed and basically compressed into these shapes and then many pieces which have been precisely shaped are glued and laminated under great pressure. The work is then carved with great concern for the shape and surface of each piece and its intended relationship to the finished work. Often his furniture has carved legs and feet, or hands and an occasional humorous touch. "I want them to look as though they could walk - or squirm away" he said recently. His carving, which he began as an art student at the University of Maryland, started with marble and now is evolving into a subtle form with wood. Although fascinated with furniture he is beginning to think of doing more sculpture.

Many of his pieces have been bought by young store owners, a tribute to their interest in this type of work because they are expensive. His tables and display pieces can be seen at Georgetown Leather Design, Creative Goldsmiths in Les Champs, E.F. Sly in Georgetown.

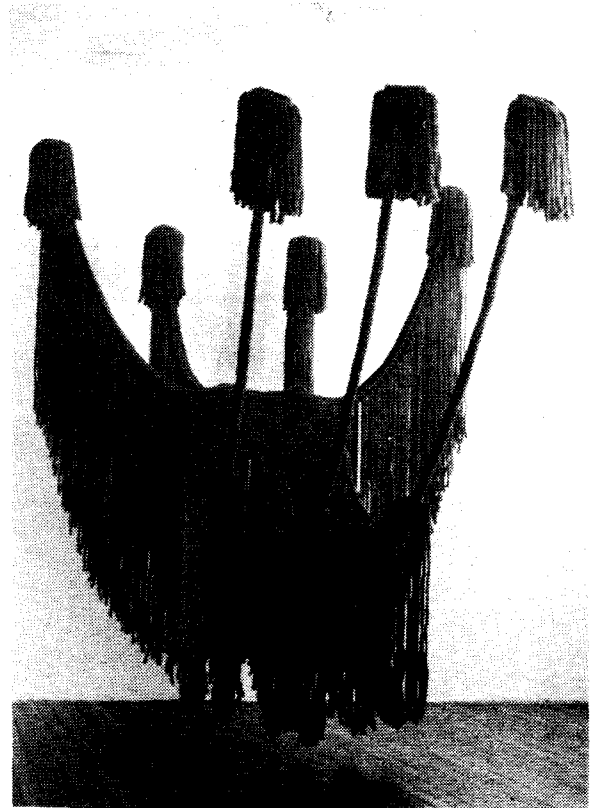
Peter Danko works with two assistants and an apprentice in a garage in Georgetown. He is self taught, using many basic bentwood techniques such as Thonet used. However bentwood usually involves only steaming and bending a single piece of wood, so this process is more complex. Using a book on cabinet-making to solve technical problems, he has built much of his own equipment, including a steamer. Each piece of furniture takes thousands of hours of time. The wood and leather couch with tendrills which will be seen at Knoll has taken about 2,500 hours to complete. In order to defray the expense he is considering using the forms he has created to build limited editions of some pieces.



A variety of woods are used. The chairs in the Knoll show are of cherry, the couch is red oak. A concern with wood as a material is evident in Mr. Danko's studio. The door is carved and shaped, the shelves are interesting rough cut planks, his portfolio is an exotic zebra wood. Even the floor has been carefully finished. His finishes on furniture vary with the use he anticipates they will have.

RONALD GOODMAN

Ronald Goodman has a deep interest in fabric construction and fibers. He has studied weaving, both on and off loom techniques. As a Fulbright scholar he spent 18 months in India surveying the arts and



and crafts, photographing, collecting fabric and paintings, and teaching. He has developed methods of fold-and-dye for cloth that are being taught all over the world. He now works primarily in the art of crocheting to create sculptures. Using a traditional crochet hook, a high loft and very fat wool yarn he creates large forms. He reinforces them at stress points with specially designed steel armatures which also serve as the hanging points. In the Knoll show four hangings will drape from the ceiling. After a period of working entirely in white in order to better focus on structure and design, he is now using brilliant colors. His contribution to the show are dramatic pieces that move and change. Some of his works really need several stories of height to appropriately display themselves.

A personal change occurred for Goodman in India. He felt awed at the degree of handwork, and by the people. The time Indians spent on a piece of fabric made him more tolerant of the time taken by his own work. He appreciated the generosity of the people. His collection, including "brocades, printed and dyed fabrics, tent covers,

silks, embroidered hangings, intricately woven and embroidered shawls as well as some priceless antique fabrics has all been given to the Textile Museum. He was responsible for a remarkable show held there called "South of the Himalayas." He is currently both a curator and a research associate of the Textile Museum.

Goodman, now 32 years old, is an instructor at the Smithsonian and at Glen Echo, where he almost serves as a one man crafts department.

RICHARD MATHEWS

Richard Mathews, 20, is the youngest of these outstanding craftsmen. He works primarily with rough sisal; a type of roping, with cord, string and yarn. To create his basic shapes, two knots, the half hitch and the square knot, are used. For other effects he uses basketry or tapestry techniques. The sculptures often have long cascades, fringes or wrapped cords extending from them. The total length of many pieces is 10 to 15 feet. Working with extraordinary lengths of fiber — the knotting takes up four times the finished length — he ties them to hooks in the ceiling. He turns them as he works, then twists, shapes, sews and ties the work to give it added dimension. Sometimes the fibers are left their natural colors, at other times he brushes on layer after layer of color or bleach to achieve



deep, drifting tones. Rust, brown, black and some yellows that natural-dye tones are characteristic. Sometimes the colors drain into each other.

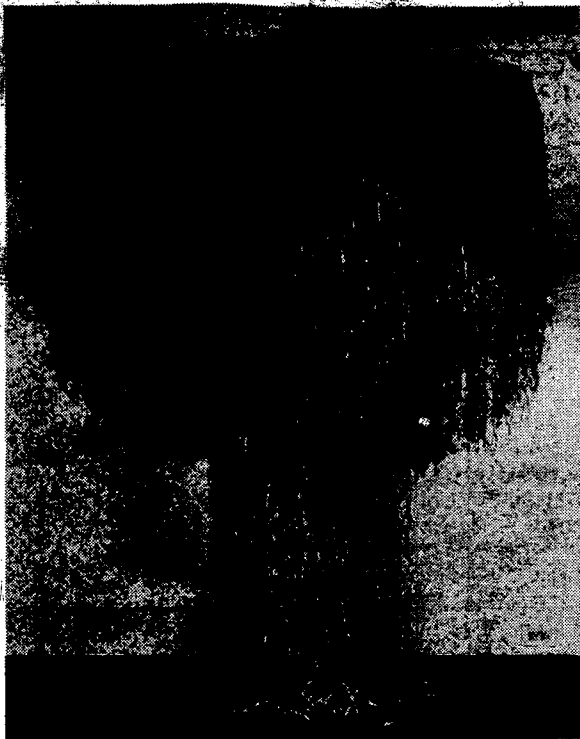
Often he creates around a theme. He has made a "family," a "grandmother," a "mother," etc. Fascination with the elongated diamond shape, produced his "African Masks" series. Another group has titled "Two Sailors and An Accommodating Lady." The mood and patterns of the ocean's edge have led to a series of "seascapes."

Many of his works are wall hung, some ceiling hung, others free standing. He hopes that those that hang will be arranged in a variety of ways. The idea that they can be hung upside down pleases him. He will provide photographs of alternative arrangements. One of his sculptures hangs in the office of National Public Broadcasting here and he is currently working on a commission to hang in the U.S. Custom Office at the World Trade Center in New York. He had a one-man show at Spectrum Gallery and expects to have another one at the Washington Gallery of Art in the fall.

TÜRKER ÖZDOĞAN

Türker Özdoğan (pronounced softly tour-care urs-doe-on) is an assistant professor and director of ceramics at George Washington University. Born in Izmit, Turkey in 1944, he studied ceramics at the Academy of Applied Fine Arts in Istanbul. He came to the U.S. in 1970 and studied, receiving an M.F.A. from George Washington. He was also an assistant in the Ceramics Department of the Corcoran School of Art.

Mr. Özdoğan's sculptures are very large, some six feet tall. Ceramics are usually small due to the limited sizes of most kilns available for firing. He works in sections and then joins them after they have been finished. Deeply interested in hollow rings,



a rarely used ceramic shape, he uses the forms repeatedly to give his work strong rhythms. "I was so glad, so happy, I thought I had found a new technique in ceramics... until I began research for my thesis," says Özdoğan. What he found was that hollow ring forms had been created as far back as the second and third millennium B.C. Over 2,000 years ago Peruvian potters incorporated this shape into figurative vases. Japanese potters of the 6th and 7th century used it as well. So much for a new technique. The finding intrigued him as he basically believes in classic shapes, consistent with the character of clay and the hand process.

Although hollow forms can be made in several ways, Özdoğan usually throws his work on a potter's wheel. It can begin with a mound of clay or a coil. Two walls are pulled up and then joined to form a hollow unit. This is pierced to allow for drying and to prevent an explosion in the kiln. After each piece is dried, fired, glazed and fired again they are joined to complete a composition.

Türker Özdoğan has had a number of one man exhibitions. Among them were shows at George Washington University, International Monetary Fund Art Gallery, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Decatur House, and Hood College in Frederick, Maryland.

THE DC BICENTENNIAL MURAL

Reviewed by Clarissa K. Wittenberg

The mural by H.H. Booker, II, at the DC Bicentennial Office, 13th and G, has been very controversial. The Washington Post reports that Virginia won't loan its "prized Houdon statue of George Washington to the National Gallery" unless the mural comes down. I would rather have the mural. Their objections are political. The mural is political. President Nixon is portrayed in gangster's clothes, (although recently one would think gangster's clothing would be business suits) and Pat is seen as a gun moll. Also Mao Tse-tung and Joseph Stalin are in the picture. Some Republicans from Virginia do not approve of any of this. The mural is actually a rather small black and white frieze along the top of a large red,



white and blue, Amtrak-looking super graphic. It provides counterpoint to the severity of the graphic and the entire wall is rather successful. As for poor drawing, the map distributed by the DC Department of Highways and traffic is also poorly drawn and can be seen at the bottom of the wall. It is probably properly considered "charming."

The mural is essentially a political cartoon and it has few pretensions to be anything else. It is not stuffy. The entire DC Bicentennial office is dramatic. The huge red '76 in the window outside is great. The large super graphic is good and the DC '76 poster very handsome. Though most people in Washington would rather have bare walls than risk art, and while I would prefer better art, I would gladly risk an amateur's effort in order to have people begin to see the possibilities.

JIM DINE

Fendrick Gallery

Reviewed by Clarissa K. Wittenberg

JIM Dine is a well known, creative artist who was born in Cincinnati in 1935, has lived and worked in New York and London and now resides in Vermont. Some of his works have been widely reproduced and many people who would not recognize his name would know his art. One often-seen series has depicted neckties and another has been on his own boots. He has made the valentine heart into his own symbol, using it over and over again, sometimes vibrant with reds and pinks, sometimes in silver, perhaps bleeding or torn. A major preoccupation has been with tools and objects immediately around him. Although he occasionally includes people or portraits, most often it is the impact of the person that is recorded. The rumpled and the shaping of a bathrobe, rather than the wearer.

The exhibition at the Fendrick is a strong and serious display of this man's work. It will be hung until Feb. 10 and can be seen on request after that. A broad range of Dine's work can be seen; etchings, silkscreens, collage are all represented. Often described as rather direct and off handed in his approach, this show displays the careful draftsmanship, thought and personal approach that underlies all of this artist's work.

Many of the prints in the Fendrick show are from very small editions. Some are worked and reworked so a series of prints with an integral relationship has been achieved. In Five Paintbrushes (1973) Dine reworked the plate through five more designs. At first he added five more paintbrushes, then aquatint and finally drypoint. This is technically dazzling. Many prints are in somber tones, an occasional etching is in rose or green tones. For the most part they deserve quiet study as they are detailed and rather severe. Two haunting prints of a detached braid are affecting. Growing hair appears to be Dine's metaphor for life and perhaps there is a morbid suggestion here.

A major item for collectors is 30 Bones of My Body (1972). Dine has done 30 studies of tools which have merged with body images. Hair grows on a screwdriver, a pencil softens until it looks like a finger, the mid part of tongs becomes a braid. This series can only be purchased as a unit.

In contrast to the drawings, a five part standing screen is a burst of color. Each section is covered with linen silk-screened with a strong design. One panel is a rainbow, another white dots on black, another green like grass, still another yellow and the last a sky-like blue.

Other impressive and perhaps more characteristic works are here, a large stenciled collage of a bathrobe called Self Portrait, several vegetable collages, a print of bright colored signatures of friends from Cincinnati, and his famous hearts.

NOTE TO LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

We don't have the staff to cover every hearing before the City Council and School Board. But we are interested in what you have to say. Please make sure that we receive a copy of your written testimony. Mail to: DC Gazette, 109 8th St. NE, DC 20002.

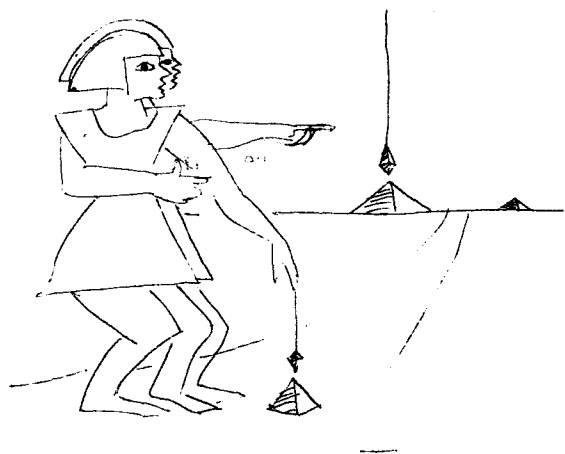
JUST when it appeared that the Avant Garde was dead in Washington, Robert Morris and Yuri Schwebler have resurrected the Philistines and with the aid of articles in the Washington Post (if it's not in the media it doesn't exist) have unleashed the barbs of those Honestfolk who have known all along that the Kings of Kulture and the Emperors of the Esoteric come on naked.

Rather than be put on by advanced art, outraged citizens frustrated with Watergate and the energy crisis have lashed out in letters-to-the-editor severely critical of Morris's minimal steel girder construction near the Lincoln Memorial and Schwebler's pyramids in the atrium of the Corcoran. If you can't get rid of the President or long lines at the gas pumps, you can at least put the presumptuous cultural elite in its place.

Although any notoriety is to an artist's advantage, a printed charge of "triviality" and "irrelevance" is a grievous slight. Better to be maligned than not to matter and Morris and Schwebler (who are real art heavyweights) seem in danger of not only not mattering but creating art that seems not to exist.

Both artists believe in making Important Art. In the past that required at least a carved, gilded frame to identify the degree of importance. But these days, makers of important art have stripped their work bare of trappings. Gone are frames, visual references, sentiment, illusion, charm, composition, design or any of the usual clues that make the view says "ah...that's art."

Their work comes close to architecture. Seen at a glance in a forest, Schwebler's dark green pyramids could be Boy Scout tents



and as one letter-writer aptly perceived, Morris's steel trusses might be the skeleton for a supermarket.

The problem is contextual. Schwebler's pyramids in a museum atrium with elegant plumb bobs and silver tape delineating the geometric formulae are both conceptual and perceptual at the same time. The meaning is clear. In the context of the museum, spaced to echo the architecture of the atrium, including preliminary material and referring by shape to art history, it is all art with a capital "A." Sterile perhaps; ingrown perhaps; unimportant when compared with other high art from past ages probably; esoteric definitely; but still clearly art.

The Morris presents a different contextual problem. Without the self-serving, pretentious and unaesthetic sign which designates Morris's steel girders as an art object it would certainly be taken by all but the highest initiate into the art priesthood as another Washington building project.

One may conclude from these examples (and I think rightly) that art is only art if it is so labeled. Each of us may discover his own little personal art each day, be it as trite as a sunset or as surreal as the arrangement and decor of a Love-It-at-Levitz furniture display. Only action can make art out of little daily artistic discoveries. And artists are the people that take that action and try to preserve or recreate by analogy a visual insight.

These insights are not always obvious to others. The less cultural baggage and clues the more difficult it becomes to get at what the artist is putting out. Therefore the mistaken identity syndrome which plagues so much contemporary art can only be solved contextually. That is, the art must be presented so as to prepare the participant. Labels stating This is Art ...Look at it You Boob are offensive and patronizing. The clues must be subtle but definite, comparable to the dimming of the lights before the curtain goes up on a stage production. Even then the art might not work. Not everyone is going to get it. But at least the intent is obvious. It can then be accepted for what it is and criticized on that basis and not because it doesn't meet expected criterion since it looks just like Aunt Martha's fur cap.

Art is art if it says it is art, but not if it lurks in unexpected corners playing a combination of hide-and-seek and twenty questions. So in Art as in Politics your work is known by the company it keeps

and if you put it in the wrong context — if you make junk art and put it in alleys you can expect it will be thrown out with the trash. In the trash game only the utilitarian object survives, and art is just yesterday's TV dinner tray or rusted drain pipe.

THE government wants art; it now even spends generously through the Endowment to support it, and yet every day it destroys the potential for real art for the people. As the construction due to Metro and other civic projects spreads from the center of Washington out towards its appointed rendezvous with the suburbs, long lines of dark green plywood fences spring up — seemingly on every street corner. These fences are soon followed by a variety of posters. Poster, the art of the masses, a chance for self expression, variety, and communication created without one cent of seed money, feasibility money, or any other parasitic form of support.

It is obvious to everyone except the people who assiduously scrape the posters off the fences that these instant display areas are meant for posters and not for covering up the fascinating building activity taking place beyond the fence. Only the corporate logo and the tasteful graphic is allowed to grace the green construction fence. Transparent packaging has come to merchandizing, but not to the building trades. So why not use the fences for public display? Why not let the posters age? Let others paste new posters over the old in a fascinating and impromptu collage. Not art — not tasteful — not up to the standards of the Fine Arts Commission — but fascinating, changing, panoramic, organic and alive.

MORE government bungling in the arts. Last year HUD persuaded the Smithsonian to help them set up a contest to encourage public art — large scale sculpture, fountains, murals etc. Artists were encouraged to send in slides, they would be judged and the best ideas would be presented in an exhibition at the Smithsonian's NCA. Apparently, due to contractual differences between HUD and the Smithsonian (that means money) there will be no exhibition.

This has been known for months and yet neither HUD, who sent out the announcements, nor the Smithsonian has informed the "winning artists." Win or lose you lose. All the artists lost and don't even know it yet.

MUSIC

DYLAN

Reviewed by David Logan

WELL, unfortunately for all those who paid \$8.50 and went through great contortions to get tickets, the Second Coming did not occur as advertised at Bob Dylan's Washington debut on January 15. The 17,000 faithful that filled the new Capital Centre for the first half of his two night stand, however, seemed eminently satisfied with what they got for their money and effort, and therein lies a glimpse of the magnitude of the musical experience the event provided.

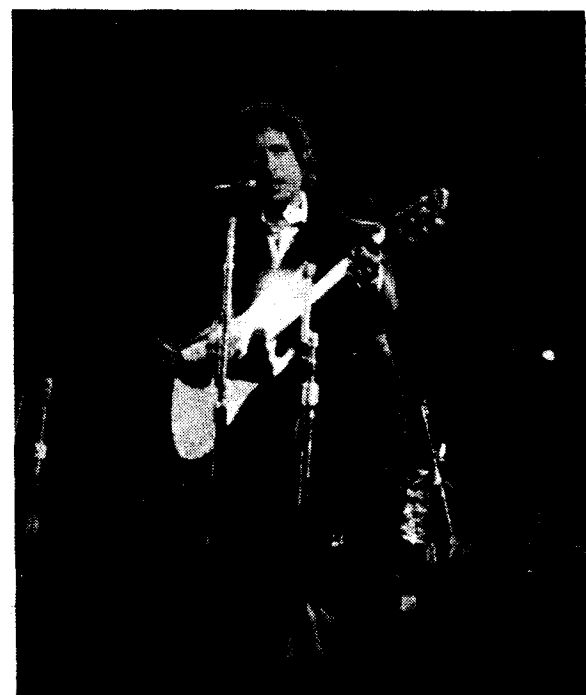
As you might gather from reading the opening paragraph, I was not one who received \$8.50's worth of nirvana that Tuesday evening. I accept all the long-winded assessments of Dylan's importance and the huge imprint he has left on the musical scene. I also acknowledge his impact as a political leader/prophet who captured in his lyrics the spirit that was white society's contribution to the civil rights movement and that was later channeled into protest against the Viet Nam war. But, just as the music of the Beatles has undergone serious reevaluation (and found lacking by some) with a decade's hindsight, I think we will soon see a reappraisal of Dylan's

work, past and present, and using a new objectivity, it will perhaps be put in a new perspective.

Was the music that Dylan put on his records all that excellent? I would argue no. Dylan is quite obviously limited on guitar. Vocally, his singing ranges from grating to passable, a good characterization being that he is a "song stylist" in the sense of Rod Stewart. The music he writes is basically traditional American verse-verse-chorus folk music, no better or worse than that of Pete Seeger or John Denver. So, what's left are the lyrics. Though they differed as he moved radically through the various stages of his career, it remains those penned in the mid-60's that elicit the most fervent response. The post-accident stuff, from Nashville Skyline on is hummable, but hardly memorable. Certainly "Lay, Lady Lay" is beautiful, but it isn't any greater than a hundred other love songs written by other, more mortal composers.

The answer, as simply as I can put it, is that Bob Dylan was a visionary who was in the right place at the right time with the right kind of music. His music has become indelibly associated with the political maturation of millions who were in school in the 60's. In that sense Dylan is worshipped for something that goes well beyond words and notes on a sheet of music, strummed in coffee houses or emanating from the grooves of well-worn records. Dylan was God for the Consciousness Two Liberal, and His faithful were at the Capital Centre to pay homage.

What they saw was a show that started 45 minutes late and a performer who refused to allow his image to be focused on the arena's #1 gimmick, the TeleScreen. What they heard was a hell of a lot of good music. It's inescapable. For all my reservations about Dylan, from the repetitiveness of his music to his tendency to be self-consciously profound, it was worth the money. The support work of The Band was



(Photo by Jon Jameson)

impeccable, and when released to cook on their own, they did so far beyond their usual staid and coldly professional performance. They seemed to be genuinely overjoyed to be back playing with their mentor, Dylan, and oh, did they shine on "Stage Fright," "This Wheel's on Fire," and "The Shape I'm In." As usual, the individual performances were excellent, with every solo being just enough, not too much, all flowing along, moving gracefully from verse to chorus to solo and back. Garth Hudson's keyboard work is tops.

Dylan's performance, too was excellent. After starting slowly with a few numbers backed by the band, he hit home solidly in two acoustic sets, with particularly fine versions of "All Along the Watchtower," "Just Like Tom Thumb's Blues," and "Just Like a Woman." Backed by the band again, he brought down the house with "Like a Rolling Stone." He mixed 'em up well, and displayed a voice somewhere between that of his early work and that on Nashville Skyline; hard but not harsh.

He was there. Big, but not bigger than

life. Certainly his return to the spotlight is a risk — he could have easily lived out his life being the essence of the 1960's legend. The newly commercial Bob Dylan, touring, forming his own record label, is among us, and those in attendance at Largo may have witnessed the first chapter in the demythologization of Bob Dylan. With a little perspective we may be able to begin following one of Dylan's oldest messages that we thus far have refused to accept, that being, "Don't Follow Leaders."

CHUCK STONE

A FEW days ago, I was cruising along at a very respectable Nixon-mandated 55 miles an hour on a city expressway when my adherence to law and order was abruptly jolted by an impertinently loud horn blast. I dutifully eased over into the right lane.

I glanced sideways just in time to glimpse what roared by me — a white vinyl-top, chrome-adorned Cadillac, what singer Lou Rawls described in one of his monologues as "the hustler's hog — white on white, in white."

Enthroned behind the wheel was a manicured-bearded black dude. His thick full collar was snaked around his neck, hiding a head already diminished by a most righteous Superfly hat. The wide brim was doing double duty by canoping his bejewelled "stone fox," attached to him like a Siamese twin.

It was a touching picture, this American success story. And as the self-evidently prosperous pimp and his dazzling chariot contemptuously left me in their wake, I smiled wryly to myself:

"Go ahead and enjoy it while you can."

Before that thought could fade away, I was struck by its drastic implications. A billion-dollar industry could be crippled if pimps weren't able to get all the gasoline they needed.

No self-respecting pimp worth his stable of prostitutes is going to be caught even hitching a ride in anything but a Cadillac or a Lincoln Continental. Would you do business with a pimp who rode around in a Volkswagen?

The gas shortage may also force pimps to curtail the nightly surveillance of their stables. This is bound to increase the prostitution dropout rate. One of the curious needs of these oppressed women is their psychic dependence on a combination father figure-lover who "cares" for them. Their alienation could really slow the industry's growth.

But pimps, successful hustlers that they are, will probably be buying gas when the rest of us are bicycling.

Paying exorbitant black market gasoline prices which cut into their income won't upset them. They'll simply demand more money from their prostitutes who, in turn, will raise prices. And the Cost of Living Council can't do a thing about it.

In the meantime, however, many of the affluent suburbanites who nightly cruise ghetto neighborhoods all over the country looking for a little nocturnal action will start staying home.

The staggering confluence of circumstances caused by the oil shortage could put many less imaginative pimps and prostitutes out of business. Their families and other individuals, as well as a long line of related activities which depend on these illicit earnings to survive, would collapse.

An already economically-depressed ghetto could become a disaster area, precipitating a drain on the welfare and unemployment offices.

Maybe a delegation of pimps could be organized to negotiate more successfully with the Arabs.

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nothing goes on in d.c.

FOLGER POETRY SERIES 1974: Folger Library, 201 East Capitol SE. Monday, 18 February 8 pm: Dierdre Baldwin is the poetry editor of *Woodwind* magazine and Gregory Millard, a young, unpublished poet from Texas, whose second book, *Sugarstories*, may be seen as it passes hand to hand among friends and strangers.

Monday, 4 March, 8 pm: Shirley Kaufman, the 1969 United States Award winner of the international Poetry Forum for her book, *The Floor Keeps Turning*. Her poems have appeared in *The Atlantic*, *Field*, *Harper's*, *The New Yorker*, *The Nation*, *The New American Review*, *Poetry*, and other journals. And John Unterecker, visiting professor at the University of Texas in Austin. He is the author of *Voyager: A Life of Hart Crane*, *The Dreaming Zoo*, and of numerous critical studies. Stone, a collection of new poems, will be published later this year.

Monday, 18 March, 8 pm: James Dickey, author of several critical works as well as numerous verse publications. His novel *Deliverance* has received wide acclaim as both novel and film. His poetry has appeared in *The New Yorker*, *Harper's*, *Hudson Review*, *Sewanee Review*, *Yale Review*, *Poetry*, *Texas Quarterly*, *Kenyon Review*, *Partisan Review*, and others.

Monday, 1 April, 8 pm: Ann Stanford, author of five books of poetry, widely published in the major periodicals, and has completed a verse translation of *The Bhagavad Gita*.

THE Modern Dance Council of Washington announces openings in the Scholarship Dance Classes for Children which will begin on Saturday, February 16th, 1:30 pm at 2445 18th St. NW. Additional scholarships will be offered to deserving students after the completion of the ten-week course. For application into these dance classes for dancers eight to fifteen, call 671-0573 or 462-1321.



TWO figures from the Barnett-Aden Collection currently on exhibit at the Anacostia Museum.

THE Feder Memorial String Competition for secondary DC string students will take place Fri, Feb 22, 9:30 am, at the Federal City College Music Recital Hall, 916 G NW.

FOURTH North American Conference on Adoptable Children: March 14-17, Statler Hilton Hotel, hosted by the Metropolitan Washington Council on Adoptable Children. Info: James Yachley, 454-5237.

FROM CENTER FOR CREATIVE NONVIOLENCE: Sunday night speakers, 936 23rd St. NW, 7-9 pm (265-7559). Feb. 10: During the summer of 1973, Norma Becker, long time peace activist and educator, visited the People's Republic of China. While there she visited schools, factories and collectives. Norma will present a slide show taken this summer, and will share her experiences and impressions.

Feb. 17: A discussion of the amnesty question, led by Father Ed McGowan, S.J., director of Reconcile, a newly formed educational and activist effort in Washington. Father McGowan was most recently a defendant in the Camden 28 trial, where he and other defendants were acquitted of conspiracy to destroy draft files.

Mar. 3: Three styles of spirituality will be discussed by Sr. Allannah Cleary, S.A., a Catholic chaplain at George Washington University. Sr. Cleary will focus on Eastern prayer (where a person operates from a total perspective, not only intellectually); and two styles of Western prayer — both extremes — the radical secular approach to spirituality and the liberal personalist approach.

Mar. 17: Tom Lewis, artist and deeply committed pacifist, will talk on art as lifestyle. A member of the Baltimore Four and the Catonsville Nine, Tom's art is also a reflection of his political beliefs.

THE GEORGETOWN University Mask and Bauble Dramatic Society presents John Millington Synge's, *The Playboy of the Western World*, a twentieth century Irish folk comedy, thru Feb. 16 at Stage One Theater; 3620 P St. NW, Thurs-Sun nights at 8 pm. Tickets are \$2.50 and are available at the Stage One box office. Info: 333-1789 or 625-4960.

NEW PRINTS by Peter Milton; and new printmakers at the Franz Bader Gallery, 2124 Penn. NW thru Feb. 9, Tues-Sat, 10-6 pm.

THE OPERA DEPARTMENT of the University of Maryland presents *The Marriage of Figaro* in English, Feb. 8, 9, and 10 at 8 pm in the Tawes Fine Arts Theater, on campus. Tickets are



Peter Rockwell at the Mickelson Gallery through February 26.

\$3.50 for general admission and \$1.25 for students. Group rates are available; mail orders are welcome. Box office hours are 10:30 to 4:30, Mon-Fri. Info: 454-2201.

A THIEF, a fence, and other street people create music and satire in Bertolt Brecht's "The Threepenny Opera" at Marvin Center Theater, 21st and H, NW.

Kurt Weill wrote the score. The GW Speech and Drama Department is presenting the play, which will run thru Sun, Feb 10, with nightly performances at 8 pm and a Feb 9 matinee at 2 pm.

Ticket prices are \$1.50 for students and senior citizens and \$3 for general admission. Group rates are available. Call 676-6177 for reservations.

A COMPREHENSIVE preventive medicine program has begun at The Gate free clinic, 3336 M St, Georgetown. It is the first service of its kind in the metropolitan area.

The service includes a screening examination and follow-up groups in which clients are given counseling.

Screening exams will be offered during the third week of each month, 7-10 pm, Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. Appointments: 337-4283.

Clients who need it will be assisted to quit smoking or establish a controlled pattern smoking. Smoking withdrawal clinics are scheduled for the fourth week of each month at 6 pm, Sun-Thurs. The five consecutive group therapy sessions are led by a physician-counselor team.

The other follow-up groups will meet one night a week for four weeks. A new cycle of groups will begin during the first week of each month. An exercise and physical fitness group will meet Sundays. A weight control group will meet on Mondays, and a tension and stress control group on Tuesdays. A class in meatless cooking will be taught on Wednesdays and one on personal health

skills on Thursdays. Each session starts at 8 pm.

Interested individuals need not have a screening exam in order to enroll in any one or all of the groups or classes. Registration can be accomplished at the first meeting of each group or reservations can be made by telephone at 337-4283.

The service is available without charge to individuals and families who cannot afford to pay. Others will be asked for a registration fee of \$3 for the screening examination, \$6 for the smoking withdrawal clinic, and \$6 for each month of attendance at the groups or classes, or \$15 for the entire package.

FROM WOUNDED KNEE LEGAL DEFENSE/OFFENSE COMM., East Coast Media Office, Box 21026, DC 20009, 387-3830: A Wounded Knee Defense Media office has been opened to disseminate information about the background and legal actions involved with the protests in and around Wounded Knee.

If you need data, or articles, video tapes, records or tape recordings, or if you can use our slide shows or photographic exhibit, please let us know.

WASHINGTON Water Color Association Members Show, thru Feb. 21, Arts Club, 2017 Eye St, NW. Opening Reception, Sunday Feb. 3, 4:30-6:30 pm.

THE National Symphony String Quartet concert at the Corcoran Gallery of Art on Feb 9 at 8 pm will include the premiere performance of Quartet Fantasy by Steven Burton, written especially for the National Symphony String Quartet. Tickets are \$3.00. Info: 638-3211, extension 22.

PAPER WORK SHOW FOR WOMEN: Women working in art on paper may contact Annette Fox at 547-2502, or Rosemary Wright at 291-3505 for information. Entries will be judged by Susan Sollins and Nina Felshin. The show will be held in May at the Washington Gallery of Art. The Exhibit Committee of the Registry for Women Artists is sponsoring this show to increase the membership of the registry. The registry is essentially a file for slides of member's work and a current biography. Any woman may join by sending approximately four slides taken of her work and paying \$5.00. There will be a modest entry fee for this show.

THE DC Women's Coalition on the Bicentennial will hold its first meeting, Feb. 16th 10 am at the Douglas Memorial United Methodist Church, 11th & H, NE. Info: 547-8549.

A NEW spinning/weaving cooperative is now offering winter classes. In DC contact Susan McCauley, 667-5543 or in Virginia call Jane Parks at 273-2914.

THE A.L.E.R.T.S. is requesting professional volunteer instructors and teachers to teach the following classes: 1) bookkeeping & accounting; 2) para-professional legal courses (jailhouse lawyers & writ-writers) 3) typing, 4) advanced mathematics, and 5) political education. The Academic School, within the confines of Lorton, has many empty classrooms, from 6 pm- 9 pm, Mon-Fri, due to lack of personnel, and limited budget. The Academic School possesses textbooks, materials, etc. for classes. If anyone in the professional area is interested, please contact either Larry D. Cannon, Mahonney Kassima or Nathaniel Wright, c/o: A.L.E.R.T.S. Lorton Reformatory, Lorton, Va. 22079. There is no problem of getting a volunteer into Lorton for the above.

MARCH performances by the National Ballet at the Kennedy Center Opera

House: Sleeping Beauty, March 8 at 8 pm, Saturday, March 9 at 2 and 8 pm. Courante, Esmeralda and Jeu de Cartes, Sunday, March 10 at 2 and 8 pm.

"I THOUGHT I heard Buddy Bolden say..." A program of Classic Jazz presented by Royal on WGTB-FM 90.1 every Sunday from 3-6pm.

ELIZABETH MURRAY, Narrative oil paintings and drawings, Feb. 9 thru March 6, at Jacobs Ladder, 5480 Wisc. (301). Joseph Zucker, non-traditional paintings of ships, Feb. 9 thru March 6 at Jacobs Ladder.

ORGANIST Haig Mardirosian will be presented in recital by the Church of the Reformation, 212 East Capitol Street, at 3 pm Sunday Feb. 10. The program will consist of the Prelude and Fugue in b minor and three choral preludes of Bach, the Franck, Choral in b Minor, the Alleluyas of Simon Preston, the Second Fantasy of Jehan Alain, and three works by Herbert Howells, the Sarabande, Master Tallis' Testament, and the Paean.

The recital date coincides with the release of Dr. Mardirosian's recording of the organ works of Brahms by the Musical Heritage Society. The works of Preston and Howells from this program have also been recorded on MHS and will be released later this year.

Mardirosian is Director of Music at Reformation. The recital is free.

THE FOLGER Theatre Group will present Gogol's The Inspector General, previewing Feb. 12, 13 and 14, and opening Feb. 15 for a four-week run. Performances will be at 8 pm Tues-Sun with a Sun matinee at 3 pm.

Set in a sleepy provincial Russian town in the 1830's, it is a satire about a young man passing through the little town erroneously assumed to be the Inspector General and the pandemonium that ensues. Info: 546-4000, Tues-Sun, 12:30 to 8:30 pm.

THE Textile Museum offers an introduction to the textile arts stressing basic techniques and skills. A Saturday series of classes is offered: Introduction to Islamic Rug Weaving, Crewel and Needlepoint, Swedish Bobbin Lace, Inkle Loom, Traditional Tapestry Weaving, and Crochet. A variety of other classes is also offered. Info: 667-0441.

ARENA STAGE will be transformed into a circus ring for The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui, a new translation of Bertolt Brecht's play which opens Feb. 6.

Brecht set the play in Chicago of the 1930's, and used a fictional gangster to chronicle the rise of Adolph Hitler. With ridicule and humor, the play, to use Brecht's own words, shows that "the small-time bum who has been allowed by our rulers to become a big-time bum deserves no place of honor in the annals of either bumming or history." The play will be held nightly except Monday thru Mar. 10. Info: 638-6700.

JOSEPH CORNELL. Honoring the artist a year after his death, a small showing of Joseph Cornell boxes. They have been described as "useless for any purpose except to delight the eye and everyone's desire for a lovable object." Organized by Walter Hopps. Thru March 10 at NCFA.

TYPIST-Transcriber, immediate opening at convenient downtown location. Type from various tape recordings of conventions, speeches, some legal and criminal work. Requires 60-80 wpm, good knowledge of vocabulary and grammar. Some college. Average \$150 to \$250 weekly. Call 347-5397 for details and appointment.

The DC Jail story continued

SIX defendants in the DC Jail uprising case, who have been on deadlock since last October, are being subjected to a mounting campaign of mistreatment and harassment in violation of a court order and a promise made by then Chief of DC Corrections Kenneth Hardy.

The Coalition for Survival of DC Prisoners, an umbrella organization of community organizations concerned and angered over conditions in DC prisons, points out that on October 13, 1972, Judge William B. Bryant, ordered that "defendants, their agents and employees [i.e. city officials in charge of the jail] shall take no action, nor make any threat of action, to injure or harass any inmate because of actions arising out of the disturbance at the District of Columbia Jail on October 11 and 12, 1972." The Coalition further recalled that at the time the uprising was ended, Kenneth Hardy signed a statement saying that "I, Kenneth Hardy, Director of the Department of Corrections of the District of Columbia, hereby promise that there will be no reprisals of any kind, including no deadlock, nor will I bring any court action against any of the inmates involved."

Despite Judge Bryant's order and Hardy's promise, not only have 14 inmates been indicted in the uprising, but six of them have been singled out for reprisals. Specifically, the Coalition charged that:

- Keeping the men on deadlock amounted to harassment in violation of the Bryant order and Hardy promise. The Coalition quoted a statement by Robert Liotta, attorney for one of the defendants, in which Liotta charged that "This action is in direct vio-

lation of Judge Bryant's order *** especially in the light of the fact that Captain Black of DC Jail informed me that Mr. Wiggins is being held in 'deadlock' merely because he is one of the indicted.

- Judge Oliver Gasch has failed to act on a motion made last November 2 to remove the inmates from deadlock. His failure not only denies them relief, it also prevents them from appealing his decision if necessary.

- The inmates have been denied the opportunity to prepare their case. Gregory Haight, a lawyer for inmate Keith Greenfield, for example, reports that he waited two and a half hours in a futile attempt to see his client. Said Haight: "Deadlock has interfered with my relationship with my client." Another prisoner, who intends to represent himself, has been denied access to legal materials at the Jail. Further, although the inmates are accused of participating in a conspiracy they are being denied the right to confer in order to prepare their case. It is impossible to prepare a conspiracy defense when the alleged conspirators are prohibited from speaking to one another.

- One prisoner, Eugene Cunningham, was beaten by guards on January 7th. Though handcuffed, he was thrown down and kicked in the face.

- Prisoners have been denied access to family and advisors. Mothers have had to wait as long as three hours to see their sons. One representative of the Coalition spent 6 hours waiting to see two prisoners, each prison visit is only one half hour

long. One mother waited three hours to see her son, then was told to leave and return later that day.

- Prisoners are being held under inhumane and cruel conditions. They are permitted showers only once a week; they are kept in a cell 6 feet by 8 feet; and are given exercise only infrequently. They are denied all prison facilities and contact with other inmates. They cannot make phone calls. When they leave their cell they must be accompanied by two guards at all times.

- One of the guards at DC Jail, Lt. Charles Wren — who is a complaining witness in the case against the defendants — has been assigned to bring food to the prisoners. The inmates report that Wren rattles bars and makes verbal threats to intimidate them. Permitting an officer who is a complaining witness in a court case to guard those he claims have injured him constitutes a gross abuse by prison officials.

Selma Rein, coordinator of the Coalition, told a news conference outside the DC Jail January 17th:

"The current use of abusive deadlock treatment for these prisoners can only be described as a bitter irony. These are the very inmates of DC Jail who were driven to such desperate actions on October 11, 1972 by similar conditions of incarceration. Now this form of treatment returns to them as a vengeful punishment for their acts of protest. This is the situation that Judge Bryant foresaw in his October 13, 1972 order prohibiting exactly this sort of reprisal; an order which is being totally ignored by DC Jail officials."

The convention center continued

OPPOSITION continues to build to the proposed Eisenhower Convention Center. Down in Chinatown, the new unofficial "mayor," Stephen Lee says he'll fight like a tiger against the project. . . A BROAD-RANGING COALITION of organizations, like the combines the ECTC used to put together during the freeway-fighting days, called a news conference recently to denounce the project.

MEANWHILE, we have received an interesting article from Land Economics that does a good job of explaining why the convention center mentality isn't working in San Francisco. Called "The Illusion and the Reality of Urban Renewal: A Case Study of San Francisco's Yerba Buena Center," the article makes a number of points that are applicable to the District in addition to reciting many of the same arguments that we have reported previously.

The authors, Robert Kessler and Chester Hartman, say that "Based on our Yerba Buena research, we have found that urban renewal has concentrated solely on narrowly defined potential aggregate benefits which accrues only to a small private sector, rather than on distributive effects — and has been sup-

ported by a very partial and one-sided recitation of the possible costs and benefits.

Kessler and Hartman question the theory that improvement in the tax base is generally beneficial to the city's population as a whole. They note: "In order for increased tax revenues to benefit the average person taxes would have to be lowered or the quality of city life improved. Neither of these is a likely outcome from the Yerba Buena (or Eisenhower Center — ed) project.

Land values may go up, the authors argue, and "for commercial enterprises and speculative land-holders such increases are welcome. New and bigger buildings imply more profits even if they also involve increased real estate taxes. But for users and owners of residential land, as well as small businesses, these value increases tend to be harmful for they result in higher rents and taxes. As land values rise the possibility of constructing and rehabilitating low and moderate income housing is further dimmed."

The authors also point out that using urban renewal as a means of removing slums doesn't work the way it is supposed to. Since

those relocated are not helped (in fact, due to increased rents at a new location, Kessler and Hartman estimate that displacees from Yerba Buena may have to pay an extra one million dollars a year to landlords), their problems are relocated with them. The Yerba Buena project "has merely moved the bump along the carpet."

Finally, the authors note that "Use of tax increment financing as the principal source of revenue to pay for the public facilities would seem to destroy one of the basic economic justifications given for the Yerba Buena Center: that it will increase the city's tax base and thereby provide the aggregate benefit of more revenue for the city. If all tax revenue increase on Yerba Buena Center properties is fed back into the project to pay for the project, then nothing is available to the city to pay for other needed services or to permit a reduction in the tax rate.

Et tu, Eisenhower Center.

If you would like a free reprint of the article by Kessler & Hartman, write to Chester Hartman, Senior Planning Associate, National Housing and Economic Development Law Project, Earl Warren Legal Institute, 2313 Warring Street, Berkeley, CA 94704.

DOUBLE STANDARD

THE U.S. ATTORNEY'S OFFICE HERE takes a hard-line against drug sellers, unless they happen to be cops. In a Washington Post article based on interviews with officers indicted in a police corruption case, there was this revealing look into local double standards:

"[The officers] are bitter because they are under indictment for a charge they say is untrue, while the police routinely handles administratively cases where policemen are caught selling drugs, for example.

"That, says the U.S. Attorney's office, is because an incident such as drug-selling might be only a one-time offense, 'What we found here (in the false arrest case), and thought should be brought before a jury, is what appeared to be a series of serious violations of the law. . . a pattern of misconduct,' said one prosecutor."

Apparently, it is all right for police officers to break the law as long as they don't make a habit of it.

GUIDE UPDATE 2A

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DELETIONS

Page 4: Congressional Black Caucus

Page 5: NAACP National Office

Page 7: International Boycott of Standard Oil, Center on Corporate Responsibility.

Page 8: Tax Reform Research Group

Page 10: Free University Clearinghouse, New Schools Directory

Page 12: Charles Cassell, Bardyl Tirana, Evie Washington, Delores Pryde, and James Coates.

Page 13: Committee for Environmental Information, Womens National Abortion Action Coalition, Environmental Health Programs.

Page 14: United States Serviceman's Fund, Medical Committee for Human Rights national office.

Page 16: Washington Federation of Tenant Assn.

Page 17: Center for Study of Responsive Law

Page 18: Attica Fund, Attica Legal Defense.

Page 20: Womens Strike for Peace, Reservists Committee to Stop the War, Trees & Life for Vietnam

Page 22: Steven Symms, William Ketchum, New American Movement national office.

Page 23: Prisoners Rights Union, Prisoners Union.

Page 24: Social Responsibilities Roundtable of the American Library Assn.

Page 26: Third World Womens Alliance

Page 32: Model Cities Truancy Program

Page 51: Washington Area Bicyclists Assn

Page 53: Central Atlantic Environment Service, New Day Films, Alternative Media Project, Black Efforts for Soul Television

Page 54: Citizens Communications Center, Fund for Investigative Journalism, Gay Womens News Service, Lesbian Tide Magazine.

Page 55: College Press Service

Guide Update 1: Black Serviceman's Caucus, National Consumers Congress.

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